Persian Nobility Under the Mughals (1526-1739)

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HONEY HARNAL
M.A. M.Phil
Certificate course in Urdu
Certificate course in Persian

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
PANJAB UNIVERISTY
CHANDIGARH

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PREFACE

The comparatively recent trends in Medieval Indian History have centered around a multidimensional research; with a shift from biographical, political and military themes to cultural, economic and institutional ones. Attempts are now being made to study major institutions like Nobility. Nobility as an institution was of tremendous significance, for the functioning of the Mughal Empire in India.

Nobility has been and continues to remain one of the most favourite themes of research among the historians of medieval India. As early as 1934, R.P. Khosla with his work, Mughal Kingship and Nobility, drew our attention to this important institution next only to Kingship. With the emergence of a "New History" of medieval India in the aftermath of the partition and Independence, a new generation of scholars led by Satish Chandra's seminal work, Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court 1707-1740 (1959), have vastly enriched scholarship on this institution. It includes Athar Ali's Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb (1966), S.B.P. Nigam, Nobility under the Sultans of Delhi, (1968). P.S. Bedis, Mughal Nobility under Akbar, (1985), Rita Joshi's The Afghan Nobility and the Mughals (1985), M. Athar Ali., The apparatus of empire, Awards of Ranks, offices and Titles to the Mughal Nobility (1574-1658) (1985).

Except Rita Joshi, no other scholar has exclusively dealt with a single racial group. Persian component of the nobility under the Mughals deserves a monograph on account of its contribution in varied and significant fields like military achievements administration, art, literature and fine arts. By sheer dint of their military ability and prowess in the battlefield they carved out a significant place for themselves in the politics

of the medieval period, so much so that they were the key players in the politics of northern India on the eve of Nadir Shah's invasion in 1739.

Though the two names 'Iran' and 'Persia' are not synonyms, as explained in the outlines of Chapters, for the sake of clarity and consistency, I have used the commonly accepted names 'Persian' and 'Persia'. The term Iran has been used under the Sassainans, who called their empire 'Iranshar' as well as in the recent times since 1935, under Shah's regime, to denote the earlier topography and linguistic distinction.

It is well known that relations between Persia and India are many centuries old. A mere mention of Persia is enough to recall in the mind of an Indian the ancient ties of fellowship and unity. In that hoary past, the dawn of history, our ancestors and those of the Persians belonged to the same family of Aryans.

There was great similarity between the old Persian language and the Vedic Sanskrit. Since those time there has been a regular exchange between Persia and India in the sphere of literature, art and culture. Right from the days of Darius the Great, to end of the Mughal rule in India, the two countries have been influencing each other through an exchange of ideas. Quite a number of Persian words have been absorbed in our languages and now form a part of the vocabulary. During Muslim rule in India, all administrative work was done in Persian. Persian was then the court language; it was also adapted as the language of day to day use by the educated classes. That is how a large number of Persian words have become current coin in the languages spoken in India. The culture of Persia has had its influence on Indian culture. Persian, again, was the vehicle of exchange on the cultural plane between the two countries during Muslim rule in India.

Reading of Firdausi's Shahnamah, Rumi's Masnavis, Omar Khayyam's Rubaiyat, Sadi's Golestan and Hafez's Diwan became a mark of culture in India. Persian poetry too, found a congenial abode here. We are proud of a magnificient array of poets who sang in Persian - Amir Khosraw, Hasan Dehlavi, Urfi, Saib, Naiziri, Kalim and Ghalib. The close interaction between the Mughals and the Safavids created an Indo-Persian school in painting, music, sculpture and architecture. In the north, the 15th century king sof the Sharqi Sultanate built magnificient buildings in the Iranian – Timurid style and proudly called their capital, Jaunpur, the 'Shiraz of India'.

The ties of trade between the two countries are no less ancient. Maritime operations between the two countries assumed significant proportions in the past. More important, however is the fact that these relations were never allowed to be a chapter of history only, but were nurtured by the fund of mutual goodwill and common beliefs that exist between the two peoples. The 'Parsis' of India are an example of it.

During the Mughal period the Persian nobility played a fairly significant role in contemporary politics. Persians, generally treated by the Mughals as an indigenous Muslim group. That is why Mughals sometimes gave them liberal treatment, and sometimes due to their growing influence, their power had to be curbed. Continuous change in the attitude of the Mughal rulers towards the Persian nobility presents a very interesting study. In the present thesis, a modest attempt has been made to present an objective analysis of the process that was developing and functioning during the period under study. Without the Persian nobility and its multifaced contributions in all the facets of the Mughal Empire — mostly positive and at times negative — the Mughal empire would never have been what it was, nor its legacy in cultural arenas, as it is.

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Honey Harnal 29/9/98

Chandigarh:
Place

(Honey Harnal)

CHAPTER 1

Historical Background : Homeland, Persian Nobility and the Sultanate.

Iran[1] and Persia, the two names have been used to designate the same country, but are not true synonyms. When the Aryans migrated from their Original territory, some where with in Asia, to the upland plateau below the caspian sea, one of their tribal groups was Iranian. The Iranian tribe called Parsa finally settled in a region of the plateau which called parsa. In time this regional name became Pars, and Fars, and hence the people of many other lands came to call the country Persia. In Sasanian[2] times the official name of the empire of Iran was Iranshar and in the recent times since 1935, under Shah's regime, to denote the earlier topography and linguistic distinction[3]. Language of the country is Persian, Farsi to the inhabitants, since it derived, over the centuries, from the language of ancient Parsa.

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1. Iran, lies between the caspian sea and the Persian Gulf, and has common frontiers with Iraq, Turkey, U.S.S.R, Afghanistan and Pakistan. Donald wilber; Iran Past and Present; Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1976 ; P. 3.
2. There is some scholarly dispute about the origin of the Sasanian dynasty. It is, however, quite generally believed that there was a local prince in Parsa or Pars, named Sasan, whose son, Papak, who was the head of the shrine of Anahita at Istakhr. Ibid; P.3,33.
3. The Iranian Constitution designates as the official flag of Iran the Insignia of a golden lion and Sun upon a field of a green, a white, and a red stripe. This insignia has a very ancient history. Firdawsi, in his story of Sohrab and Rustam, has a description of the banners of famous commanders among which was one bearing the figure of a lion and another bearing a yellow sun. Miniature paintings of later periods shown Iranian soldiers carrying a banner decorated with the lion and the sun. Donald Wilber; Iran Past and Present; P. 346.

Persians call their country Iran[1] and themselves Irani, a word which is the 'Airiya' (اریه) of the Avesta and signifies the "Land of the Aryans" or "Illustrious". Thus the modern meaning of Iran is restricted when used in a political sense to apply to modern Persia only; and the geographical use of the term Iranian Plateau to include part of baluchistan and also Afghanistan is, strictly speaking, more correct. The term 'Persia', employed by Europeans and most other foreigners is derived from the classical 'Persis'. This latter word signified the province of Parsa, now Fars, which gave birth to the ruling dynasty of the Achaemenians, and in consequence had its meaning extended so as to include the entire country and also its people. Even today the province of Fars (فارس) is held to be the most typically Persian province of the country. The term ' Farsi' (فارسی) is employed by the Persians to describe their own language[2], although when applied to an individual, it is restricted to an inhabitant of the province of Fars. It should be added that the Parsis of India are so called from being followers of the old Persian religion. Parsi is a Persian word, and Farsi its Arabic form which has been generally adopted, there being no P in the Arabic language.

The term "Persian" as used by us, and by the Greeks, Jews, Syrians, Arabs and other foreigners, has a wider significance than that which it originally bore. The Persians

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1. The first six months of the year have thirty one days each, the next five months have thirty days, and the last month has twenty nine days, or thirty if the year is a leap year. The year begins with the first day of spring, on March 21 or 22. This Solar calender was adopted by law in 1925 to replace the Arab lunar calender, and the names of the solar months used in ancient times were then revived. Donald Wilber; Iran Past and Present; P. 346.

2. Percy Sykes; A History of Persia; Vol. I; Macmillan and Co., Limited; 1951, P.5. Firoze Davar Cowasji; Iran and India through the Ages; Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1962; P. 18.

call themselves Irani and their land Iran[1] and of this land Parsa, the "Persis" of the Greeks, the modern Fars[2] is one province out of the several. However, because that province gave birth to the two great dynasties (the Achaemenian in the 6th centrury before and the Sasanian in the third century after christ) which made their arms for midable and their name famous in the west, its meaning was extended so as to include the whole people and country which we call Persian.

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1. Iran, Eran, Airan, the Airiyana of the Avesta, is the land of the Aryans (Ariya, Airiya of the Avesta, Sanskrit Arya), and had therefore a wider signification than the term Persia, which is equivalent to Iran in the modern sense, has now. Bacteria (Balkh) Sogdiana (Sughd) and Khwarazm were Iranian Lands, and the Afghans and Kurds are Iranian peoples. Edward G. Browne; A Literary History of Persian; Vol I; Cambridge 1954; P. 4.

2. The P sound does not exist in Arabic, and is replaced by F. Fars, Isfahan are simply the arabicised forms of Pars, Ispahan. The adjective Farsi (or Parsi) denotes the official language of Persia (which is at the same time the mother tongue of the great majority of its inhabitants, and the national language in as full a sense as English is the national language of great Britain and Ireland), and in this applicaiton is equivalent to Irani. As applied to a man, however, Farsi means a native of the province of Fars. In Indian Parsi (Parsee) means of the Persian (i.e. the ancient Persian, or Zoroastrian) religion, and the term has been re-imported in this sense into Persia. To call the Province of Fars "Farsistan", as is sometimes done by European writers, is quite incorrect, for the termination-istan ("Place of", "Land of") is added to the name of a people to denote the country which they inhabit (e.g., Afghanistan, Baluchistan), but not to name of a country or province. ibid; P.4.

Between the valley of the Indus on the east and of Tigris on the west rises that is generally termed the Iranian Plateau[1] Persia fills the western and larger portion of this elevated tract, the eastern portion being occupied by Afghanistan and Baluchistan.

The Plateau exceeds 5000 feet at Karman, 5000 at Shiraj, and 3,000 in the region of the great northern cities of Teheran and north-west, exceeds 4,000 feet in attitude. The easter proivnce of Khorasan is bounded on the north by a series of ranges which rise in stern beauty above the Steppes of Turkastan.

The district of Kuchan, which lies on both banks of the upper Atrek, is the richest in Khorasan and, like lower down the valley, is inhabited by Kurdish tribes which were transplated from the Turkish by Shah Abbas to act as " wardens of the Marches".

The valley of the Gurgon is also naturally rich, with an abundant rainfall and fertile lands, but at present most of the country is inhabited by only a few thousand families of nomadic or semi-nomadic Turkoman belonging to the Yamut and Goklan tribes[2]. In the central section of the northern frontier the rich maritime provinces of Mazanderan and Gilan lie between the great Elburz-range and the Caspian sea, and present a complete contrast to uphold Persia by reason of their heavy rainfall and mild climate and the dense forests these produce[3].

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1. Huot, Jean-Louis; Persia : From its origin to the Achaemenids; Vol. I; Cambridge Press, London, 1965, 15.
2. Edward Browne; A Literary History of Persia; P. 6.
3. To the west of Gilan, Persia again marches with Russia, the boundary, since the treaty of Turkomanchai, running from the frontier port of Astara almost due north until. It strikes the River Aras, which in its upper reaches divided the two countries. See Ghirshman, P; Iran from the earliest times to the Islamic conquest; Penguin Books 1954. P. 16-17.

At the north west corner is the superb mountain pass of Arafat, the Hebrew form of Urartu, where the three empires of Russia, Turkey and Persia met. The north west province of Persia is Azebaijan, with its chief centure, Tabirz, the largest city in Persia, situtated a point where roads from the distant Bosphoras and from Trebizond meet others from the Caucasus and the valley of the Tigris.

On the west Persia is bounded by the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates.To the west of the southern section of this barrier is the rich valley of the Karun, now the province of Arabistan, which under the name of Elam[1], was the first portion of Persia to be civilized, centuries before the Aryans appeared on the scene.

To summarise, upland Persia is strongely protected by titanic natural ramperts along her northern frontier, except where the Tejenbreaks through into the sands of Turkkestan. Along the western frontier the ramparts are still more separated; and the only natural route - a difficult one passes through Kasr - i- Shirin, Kermanshah and Hamadan. Further South, the modern province of Arabistan, lying in the rich valley of the karun, has never been fully and permanently absorbed by Persia; owing to the difficult ranges which cut it off from the province of Fars. The Coast - disricts along the Persian Gulf, too, have always been separated from the uplands and, like Arabistan, inhabited by a non-Aryan people. Persian Baluchistan is a distant province of torrid desserts, where the authority of Shah is weak[2].

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1. Hinz, Walther; The Lost world of Elam; Cambridge, London, 1972. P. 62.

2. Percy Sykes; History of Persia; P. 1-4.

It is generally accepted that civilizaiton first came into existence in the valleys of the great rivers of the world[1], and thence spread gradually into the mountains which bordered them. The dweller in such a valley would usually be assured of his food supply so long as he tilled the land. He would also enjoy the in estimate benefits of inter course by river as well as by land, and intercourse is certainly an important factor in the foundation of civilization.

More over, the valley was and is, the permanent centre of the life of a country for periodical draughts, such as occur all over the world, would drive the pastoral dwellers in the mountains down to the valleys, where the perennial rivers would, at any rate, save them and their flocks from dying by thirst.

For the reasons just stated we do not seek for the earliest civilization of Persia on its Plateau, where there are no important rivers. In the whole of the vast area of the Persia there is as we have noted, but one navigable river, the Karun, and it is in its valley that we find the earliest civilization in what was generally know as the kingdom of Elam[2], like them it was situated, partly at any rate, on a rich alluvial plain, faced with some what similar problems leading a similar life, and if not related in similarity of origin or in language, yet connected from the first by raids. So, far as it is possible, to trace briefly the history of Elam, not only idependently but as froming one of these very ancient States. The in habitants of the Iranian plateau conquered these developed civilization, which in

1. Porada, Edith; Ancient Iran; The Art of Pre-Islamic Times; London, 1965. P. 30.
2. Elam was state bordering on ancient Sumer and Akkad, the two Babylonian Lands. Percy sykes; History of Persia; P. 36,38.

their turn, deeply affected their conquerors, who adopted the arts and civilization of Babylonia and of Elam, and made their chief capital of susa, the centre of the oldest civilization what is still the Persian Empire[1].

The inhabitants upon reaching the Iranian Plateau dominated by the semitic influence to a country where the Aryan was the ruling race, although deeply influenced by the more civilized powers of Babylonia and Assyria. The struggle between the semitic races of the south and the Aryan races of the North, which finally ended in the complete victory of the northern races[2]. The original idea was that from some primitive home of Aryans (peopled) the inhabited parts of the northern hemisphere.

The identificaton of the centre from which the Aryan races issued is a point on which the greates diversity of opinion has prevailed[3]. Now, we know that the Aryans came from the north, and as nomads range. Widely, it is the view of some that their home may be sought in the vast region of the steppes to the far north of Kharasan[4].

The Aryans of the Iranian branch, with whom were are here concerned, were first to be civilized and to acknowledge one god. They possessed tradition that they quit their ancient home because the power of Evil made it ice-bound and uninhabitatble.

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1. Olmstead, Albert T.E; The History of the Persian Empire, Achaemenid Period; Chicago Press, Chicago, 1948; P. 40.
2. Percy Sykes; History of Persia; P. 95.
3. The Aryans were evidently inhabitents of a land with a contirental climate as they recognized only two or three seasons. ibid; P. 95,96.
4. Percy Sykes; History of Persia; P. 96.

Special legends refer to a lost-home termed Aryanem-Vaejo. When cold compelled them to leave this terres-trial paradise, they moved to Sughda and Muru (the classical Soghdiana and Margiana), the former being Bokhara and latter the modern Merv. Locusts drove them from Sughda and hostile tribes forced them to 'Bakhdhi', "the country of lofty banners", which was later known as Balkh[1]. From Balkh they proceeded to Nisaya, which has been identified with Nishapur but in Percy Sykes opinion erroneously for the districts of Nasa or Nisa to the south of Askabad fits in much better. Haraju (Herat) and Vaekereta (Kabul), "the land of noxious Shadows", were reached in the further stages of the migration. Later the chroniclers divided these countries into two groups, namely Arahaiti (Arachosia), Haetumant (the Helmand) and Hapta. Hindu (the Panjab) to the east, and Urva (Tus), Veha-Kana (the Gurgoan), Rhaga (Rei), varena (Gilan), and other districts to the west[2].This grouping may well have been divesed to explain the Indian and Persian divisions of the Aryans.

The site of Arya nem-Vaejo has been placed in the northern portion of the modern province of Azerbaijan; but if the northern or any other part of Azerbaijan had been the original Aryanem Vaejo, the Aryans would have been borught into contact with the tribes inhabiting who is now Armenia, who knew the art of writing and were comparatively civilized.

It is believed that the Medas migrated into Persia from Southern Russia[3], and finding the kingdom of Urartu or Ararat too strong be attcked, avoided it, and gradually occupied the western side of the Iranian Plateau. Another Aryan branch, that of the

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1. Wilber; Iran Past and Present; P. 23.
2. Percy Sykes; History of Persia; P. 27.
3. Culican, William; The Medes and the Persians; London, 1965, P. 55

Persians entered Eastern Persia from the steppes to the north of Khorasan and traversing the province of Kerman, occupied Fars, from the neighbour hood of the valley of the Zendarud, possibly already held by the Medes, to the Persian Gulf[1]. A third migration took a south easterly direction from Aria or Bactria, the invaders crossing the Hindukush and Conquering the Panjab. Behind these three grant bodies we hear of the Hyrcanians, who inhabited the modern district of Astrabad, and behind the Persians came the Carmanians, whose names survives in Kerman; the Gedrosian of the liltoral of Baluchistan; inhabiting the northern districts of Baluchistan and part of Southern Afghanistan respectively, and finally, the Margians of Merv and the Bakhtrians of Balkh[2].

History is distinguished from pre-history by the existence of legible records of man's activity, and as history begins the area of western Persia is dominated by military and cultural influences from Mesopotamia to the west. While Mespotamia was highly literate, the peoples of Persia remained in the Protoliterate stage, that is, just on the verge of producing their own written records.

At a number of times over many centuries conditions in central Asia, such as pressure from agressive neighbours or the over population of the grazing areas resulted in mass migrations towards the west. The earliest such people to cross the oxus river and move on to the Iranian plateau may have been the Aryans in the 16th century B.C. These Aryans with Aryan meaning noble, or lord were a nomadic people speaking an Indo-European language and were engaged in raising horses and cattle, and also had some experience in agriculture. Successive waves of these migrations continued for centuries.

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1. Donald, Wilber; Iran Past and Present; P. 25.

2. Percy Sykes; History of Persia; P. 98.

Between 1500 and 1200 B.C. numbers of these people moved down into the Indian subcontinent, while continued to the plateau. Some of the Latter groups stayed in eastern Persia, while others[1] pushed on towards the Zagros range.

The Persians may have reached the plain to the east of Hamadan after 1200 in sufficient numbers to over the area from its inhabitants. The Persians are first mentioned in an Assyrian Inscription of 844 B.C.[2]. As we have described earlier, the Persians were in three separate regions; to the south of Lake Rezaieh, on the northern borders of Elam, and in what was to be their final homeland[3], the area of Parsa.

Most of our knowledge of the history of Persia in Achaemenid[4] times and the details of the political organization, the army, and the life of the people is derived from Greek historians, especially from Herodotus. The empire was divided into provinces or Satrapies, each under a Satrap or governor. The basic system of an absolute monarchy and a number of semi-independent governors which was established in this period continued in Persia until the end of 19th century.

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1. i.e. Iranians, Medes, Parsua, Persians, Scythians, See; Iran Part and Present; P. 25.
2. ibid; P. 25, 25, 28.
3. A.J. Arberry; The Legacy of Persia; Clarendon Press, Oxford; 1953; P. 30-35.
4. Over the long centuries since the rise of the Achaemenid empire some thirty three dynasties ruled Persia. A number were represented by two or more branches which held sway over various areas, so that the total number of dynasties is at least forty six, and in those lines there were some 446 rulers. Donald N. Wilder; Iran Past and Present; P. 16.

It was the fate of the Achaemenid Empire to be destroyed by another world conqueror, Alexander[1] the great- a conquest far- reaching in its effects, for it put an end to the integrity of the ancient east and oriented it toward the west.

After this, Sasanian dynasty[2] came into power. The Sasanian period witnessed the re-birth of a nationalistic Persia, strong and prosperous in its own right, and unreceptive to foreign contacts and influences. The rulers were proud to serve and to adore the gods. The basic distinction between Persians and the 'Aniran', or non-Aryans, was maintained. Outsiders were all regarded so that it is quite curious that the victorious Arabs called the Persians ajami, foreigners or barbarians, just as the Greeks called the Persinas of Achaemenid times barbarians.

The Aryan invasion of Bactria took place before 2500 B.C., and that the Medes entered North-western Persia about 2000 B.C. The fact that the Kassites were an Aryan tribe which founded a dynasty about 1900 B.C and were heard of during the first Dynasty of Babylon, helps to date this migration more definitely than could be done until the identity of the Kassites, who were probably a Median tribe, had been established.

The Medas[3] and the Ancient Inhabitants were in all probability, partly massacred, partly driven into the hills, and partly permitted to line side by side with the conquerors. If we consider the heavy losses which the defending tribes must have sustained, the wide

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1. Alexander, the son of Philip of Macedonia, was born in 356 B.C. In 336 B.C. he began to carry out his father's policies, first stablizing the Greek mainland and the setting out toward Persia at the head of 35,000 men. See; History of Iran; P. 30.
2. Percy Sykes ; History of Persia; P. 98.
3. William Culican; The Medes and the Persians; London, 1965, PP. 70-75.

area affected, and its mountainous character, this appeared to be a resonable hypothesis, and history shows it to be in accordance with the procedure of most conquering nations. It is also corroborated by Herodotus, who given the names of the tribes that were welded into a nation as the Busae the Paraetaceni, the struchates, the Arizanti, the Budii, and the Magi[1].

It is possible that the first four of these were Aryans and the Budii and Magi were Turanians. The last named tribe was founded by the innvaders to be passessed of a form of worship which, fused with that of the Aryans, developed under the influence of Zoroaster, into the religion which still bears his name

Among the cunciform inscriptions recently discovered at Boghaz Kyoi, the ancient Pteria, and the capital of the Hittites, are some which contain treaties between the Hittites and the Mitannians, a people whose aristocracy at least was of Aryan race. On one of those, oaths taken by the vedic deities, Indra, Varuna and the 'Nasatya-twins' (Asvins), show most clearly not only that the Mittannians venerated these gods, but that by 1350 B.C., the date of the document, the Persian and the Hindu elements of the Aryans had not yet become differentiated. Incidentally this document disposes of any claims for extreme antiquity in the civilization of India[2].

The process of migration of the Persians to India either in pursuit of trade or in search of employment in the army, some of them migrate to India and settle here permanently. Later on the word Mughal was loosely used to denote those who had

1. Croonin; Vincent; The last Migration; London, 1957; P. 98-99.

2. Vincent; : The last Migration; P. 59.

recently come to the country from Persia and Turan[1].

Once they joined the Emperor's service, they made India their home, and hardly kept any contact with the land of their birth. One of the condition of service was that they should bring their wives and children tothe counry. Large numbers of the so called Persinas and Turanis had lived in the country for one generation or more[2].

The Sultanate was an anomalous but inevitable growth in Islamic polity as it could not turn to the pious Caliphate for guidance or inspiration so far as the administrative institutions were concerned. The Sultanate had brought an amalgam of Perso-Arabic institutions to India.

With the advent of the Abbasides, the era of expansion came to an end and the age of the consolidation of realm and the integration of ideas began while the Ummayyad (622-748 A.D.) Empire was essentially an Arab Empire, the Abbasid caliphate was an empire of the non-Arabs in which the Arabs were only one of the many component races. This was the source of their strength as well as their weakness. So long as these elements worked charmoniously every thing went on well. The moment tribal instincts, racial considerations or local jealousies gained an upper hand, the Abbasid polity began

1. The Mughals spoke Persian with an accent and were also generally more fair skinned than the Indians. For this reason many Indians took Kashmiri wives, so that their children might pass off as Mughals. Vide from Satish Chandra's ; Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court; Aligharh Muslim University, 1959. xxxi.

2. Thus see Aurangzeb's remark about Persians " whether born in wiliayat or in Hindustan". Satish Chandra's; Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court; xxxii.

disintegrate and decompose. It was the Persianized Arab culture which had held these elements together but once that cultural hold was weakened, the parts fell apart.

Under the early Abbasids, the Persians[1] of whom the Barmakids are a typical illustration-constituted the governing class with change in political conditions, this governing class was later replaced by the Turko-Persian Empires, which played a very important part in the history of medieval 'Ajam'. The Abbasid Caliphs ruled over a vast empire extending from the shares of the eastern Mediteranean to the frontiers of China but the Caliphate was not coterminous with Islam[2].

The Ummayyads (622-748 A.D.) were predominantly Arabic in their outlook. After the fall of the Ummayyads in 750 A.D. the Abbasides ruled at Baghdad from 749 till 1256 A.D. with the accession to power the Arab element receded in the background and Persian influence became predominant. Infact Wizarat itself was a non-Arabic

1. Nizami; Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the 13th century; Idarah-e-Adabiyat-i-Delli, Delhi, 1961, P. 20.
2. Ghrishman, R; Iran from the Earliest Times to the Islamic conquest; Penquin Books, London, 1954, P. 70.

institution the Abbasids adopted from Persia[1].

A new epoch begins in the history of Islam with the advent of Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin (999-1030 A.D.). The Sultans of Delhi borrowed much from the Gahznavide institutions[2]. From the accounts of the early Ghaznaide rulers it appears that their control of the military side of the government was largely confined to administrative and financial control and not so much to the actual command of the armies in the field.

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1. The members of the tolerated sects were at times elevated to the Wizarat and full freedom of thought was allowed in religions matters. See R.P. Tripathi; Some Aspects of Muslim administration; Central Book Depot, Allahabad, 1956, P. 161.

   "The ascendency of the Persians over the Arabs, that is to say, of the conquered once the victors, had already, for a long while, being in course of preparation it became complete when the Abbasides who owed their elevation to the Persians ascended the throne. These Princes made it a rule to be on their guard against the Arabs, and to put their trust only in foreigners, Persians, especially those of Khorasan with whom therefore, they had to make friends. The most distinguished personages at court were consequently Persians. The democratic point of view of the Arabs was indeed, replaced by the despotic, ideas of the Persians", see Dozy's; History de-Islamism; trans. by victory Chauvin, PP. 228-229 vide in Ishwari Prashad; History of Muslim Rule; P. 6.

2. It is mentioned by Barani in his account of Ala-ud-din's reforms, that Branding of horses was an old custom. It was practice at the time of Mahmud of Gahznin. From them it passed on the Persian Kings. Sultan Sanjar of Persia was the first great ruler who made it a regular feature of the Military Organisation. See Woolsely Haig; Encylopaedia of Islam; P. 627.

Persians played an active role during the Sultanate period which led to the political ascendency enjoyed by them in northern India. Persian nobility under the Sultans of Delhi cannot be over-emphasized, for the history of the Sultanate period is to a great exten, the history of the achievemetns and failures of the Turkish nobility. None of the Kings in the early Persian period had a recognized heredity connecting them to any of the royal houses of Persia. In other words, the king's during the Sultanate period were themselves nobles, having risen to power through sheer dint of merit and practical statesmanship[1].

Although few details are known about the administrative arrangements during the brief rule of Aibak[2], presumably the practise of combining civil and military officers remained in operaiton. From the time of Iltutmish, Persians took active part in military campaigns[3]. Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi a Persian noble, the Vazir of Iltutmish, conducted military campaigns[4]. He implemented the Sultan's policies efficiently and loyalty. The early Persian nobles were sometimes entrusted with military commands and because it

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1. Nizami; Nobility Under the Sultant of Delhi; P. 22.
2. Minhaj-ud-Siraj; Tabaqat-i-Nasiri; vol I trans. Major Raverty, 542. Ferishta; History of the Rise of the mahomedan power of India; vol. I, trans. John Briggs, London, 1829, 209, Badaoni; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarukh; vol. I, trans Ranking, 90, Hasan Nizami; Taj-ul-Maasir; Elliot and Dowson, Vol. II, 239 say that the Wazir commanded an army against Yaldoz in 1228 A.D.
3. R.P. Tripathi; Some Aspects of Muslim administration; P. 175.
4. Nizam-ud-din Ahmad; Tabaqat-i-Akbari; Vol. I, trans. B.De, The Asiatic society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1927, 85. This work is a general history covering the reign of Subuktigin and continues till the 30th year of Akbar's reign. The work was completed in 1593 A.D. It has been translated into English by the Brajendra Nath De in 3 volumes.

must have been a difficult task for the early Muslim rulers to make a clear distinction between the civil and military duties of the officials. Anohter Persian noble Fakha-ul-Mulk Isami, towards the end of Iltutmish's reign became the Wazir. Isami was much esteemed for his wisdom and learning.

During the troubled regime of the weak successors of Iltutmish the power of the Persians began to grow invariably. When and how the old Isami vanished, it cannot be said, but in Rukn-ud-din's reign Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi again became the Wazir. Later on he strongly opposed the accession of Raziya[1].

With the rise of Balban to power[2], Persians again came into prominence, Balban reposed his confidence in them. Balban organized his court on the Persian model and emulated the equiette and ceremonials of the Sassanids meticulously in all details[3]

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1. R.P. Tripathi; Some Aspects of Muslim Administration; P. 176.

   Farishta; History of the Rise of Mohamadan power in India; Vol.I, trans J. Briggs, 224.

   Muhammad Aziz Ahmad; Political History and Institutions of the early turkish Empire of Delhi (1206-1290); oriental Books Reprint Corporation, New Delhi, 1972, P. 197.

2. A.L. Srivastava; The Sultanate of Delhi (711-1526 A.D.); Shivalal Aggarwal and Company, Agra, 1969, P. 115. Barni; Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi; P. 15.

3. Nizami; Foundations of the Delhi Sultanate; central book depot, Allahabad, P. 189. R.P. Tripathi; Some Aspects of Muslim administration; central book depot, Allahabad, P. 179.

In 1249 A.D. when Balban was made Naib-i-Mamlikat (Deputy of the Sultan) Abu Bakr, a Persian was made the Wazir, but he remained under the shadow of Balban and continued to play the second fiddle. We do not knew much about the activities of other Persians who were made to settle down in different parts of northern India in the Balbani regime except few nobles.

Imad-ul-Mulk who was a Persian noble and a very competent and vigilant officer, Balban appointed him army minister, Diwan-i-Ariz. He was put in charge of implementing the military reforms regarding the recruitment, pay and equipment of the troops, considerably improving their discipline a morle[1]. Persians at times used their position to participate in politics to the extent of aiming at the throne, is also evident.

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1. When Balban marched towards Lahore he ordered the rebuilding of the fort which the Mongols had destroyed in the reigns of the sons of Shamsu-d-din. While on this campaign it was brought to his notice that the old Shamshi military grantees of land were unfit for service and never went out. On returning to Delhi, Balban ordered the Ariz-i-Mumalik to make out a list of them. It then appeared that about two thousand horsemen of the army of Shamsu-d-din had received villages in the doab by way of pay. When the list was brought to him, he divided the grantees into three classes. These orders caused great dismay among the old Shamsi grantees . They all went to the Kotwal (Malik-i-Umara Fakhru-d-din) when the Sultan enquired the matter. The Kotwal replied, "I have heard that the Ariz-i-Mumalik is turning off all the old men, and that the officers of the exchequre and resuming the lands which support them. I am an old and feeble, what will become of me?" The Sultan was moved with compassion and directed that the villages, should be confirmed to the grantees. see Elliot; Masalik-ul-Abasal; Vol. III, 107, 108.

Malik Jal-ud-din Shaistah Khan, a Persian, was Ariz-i-Mumalik in Kaiquabad's reign. When Sultan Kaiquabad was lying sick and powerless at the Kilukhri palace, Malik Jalal-ud-din was busy inspecting the royal forces at Bharpur.

Persians, under Ala-ud-din Khilji, involved in all the important affairs of the government. Persians were not only incharge of finance and revenue matters, but during the last few years of Ala-ud-din's reign, perform military duties also[1].

They maintained the striking power and efficiency of the cavalry. Zafar Khan, a Persian noble was nominated Ariz-i-Mumalik against the Mongols[2]. Persians continued to enjoy prominence under the Tughlaq Sultans as well. Sultan Muhamad Tughlaq Shah knew the weakness and instability of the Khilji economic system[3]. He had studied the history of credit currency in China and Iran. In China its introduction is said to have been as old as the beginning of the 9th century A.D. Under Qublai Khan, the Mongal emperor(1260-94 A.D.), its use increased. A disastrous attempt at imitating him was made by Kai Khatu Khan of Persia[4]. His notes were direct copies of Qublai Khan's and

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1. Barani; Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi; P. 335.

   Ibn Hasan; The Central structure of the Mughal Empire; Munshiram Manaharlal, Delhi, 1970, P. 212.

2. Yusuf Husain; Indo Muslim Polity; Indian Institute of Advanced study, Simla, 1971, P.126.

3. Barani; Tarikh-i-Firozshahi; P. 230. Afif; Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi; Elliot & Dawson; History of India as told by its own historians; Susil Gupta (India) Ltd., Calcutta, 90-91.

4. Muhammad Husain; Tughlaq dynasty; S. Chand and Co., New Delhi, P. 187.

the Chinese name Chao. They were issued, however, with entirely different ends and results. Unlike the Khan of China who made the allowance for the people if they desired the use of gold and silver, and was favoured in his attempt by (1) Precedent and tradition (2) the instinct of the people and (3) the absence of coined money in gold and silver, Kailkhatu Khan of Persia introduced a new measure under unfavourable circumstances when, on account of the extravagence of the court, the treasury was emptied and the people were distressed. Sultan Muhammad was possibly tempted by the Chinese successs to try the experiment. The Persian fiasco was too disastrous to attend his attention[1].

The attitude of Sultan Firuz Shah[2] Tughlaq towards Persians was generous and sympathetic. Zafar Khan Farsi, a noble of Persian descent and son-in-low of Fakhr-ud-din Mubarak Shah, (the late ruler of Sonargaon), reached Husain Firozah in the year 1356-57

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1. Like KaiKhatu Khan he was not compelled to introudce the token currency to refill his treasury since he had not yet emptied it. It is a mistake to regard his attempt as the result of bankruptcy, as has been maintained by almost all the later historians. Barani, who must have been an eye witness carelessly remarks that the Sultan's bounty had caused a great deficiency in the treasury. So, he introudced his copper money. This statement of Barani has led many to concluds that emperor had recourse to the token currency in order to refill his emply coffers. See Barani; Tarikh-i-Firozshahi; P. 780-81. Habib and Nizami; Comprehensive History; Vol V, People's Publishing House, Delhi, 1967, 80. K.S. Lal's; History of the Khalijis; vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1986, P.45.

1. Barani; Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi; P. 782-783. Mehdi Husain; Rise and fall of Muhammad bin Tughlaq; P. 110. Afif; Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi; P. 50.

A.D[1]; along with his followers. Haji Ilyas occupied sonargaon and killed Fakhru-ud-din. Zafar Khan fled from Sonargaon and taking the coastal route reached Thatta, and other arrived at Delhi by land route, from Delhi he was escorted to Husain Firozah[2].He presented an elephant to Firoz and narrated the woeful tale of his sufferings, and solicited the Sultan's protection and help in the restoration of his authorities in Sonargaon. On the first day, Zafar Khan received thirty thousand tankas for new suit of clothes, and his title Zafar Khan was confirmed. He was appointed Naib-Vazir. The presence of Zafar Khan in the royal camp and the death of Haji Ilyas, encouraged Firoz to reconquer Bengal.

Under the Saiyyids[3] the Persians performed military as well as civil duties. Since most of the Persian nobles were primarily military leaders, they were employed in the most difficult military campaigns. Khair-ud-din performed the military duties. Taj-ul-Mulk was Wazir during that time. By the end of the Sayyid rule though the Persians of various clans had established their hold over a large number of places but because of their long standing jealousies and rivalries, they could not take advantage of the fluid political conditions. Besides they were only men of arms and had not yet acquired political acumen and administrative skill to seize the Sceptre of political authority.

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1. Yahiya; Tarikh-i-Mubarak-Shahi; P. 126.
2. Haji Ilyas had annexed Sonargaon in 1352-53 A.D. before Firoz's first invasion of Bengal and the ruler of Sonargaon at that time was Ikhtiar-ud-din Ghazi Shah. See R.C. Jauhari; Firuz-Tughlaq (1351-1388 A.D); Shivalal Aggarwal and Co., Agra, 1968, P. 55.
3. Minhaj-ud-din-Siraj; Tabaqat-i-Nasiri; P. 187. Vide Muhammad Aziz Ahmad; Political Hisotory and institutions of the Early Turkish Empire of Delhi (1206-1209 A.D.; P. 351.

With the accession of the Lodhis to power Persians lost some of their importance. Brought up in tribal and democratic traditions the Afghans had little love for the paraphernalia of the Turkish monarchy. The government of the Lodhis resembled that of the Ummayad Caliphs who ruled with the aid of the tribal chiefs[1]. He had divided the Empire among the tribal leaders who had very indefiniate, if at all any, connection with the central government. However, Sikander Sur, differed from his father in this aspect[2].

We can summarise in the end the position of the Persians in the nobility under the Sultanate during the period under review needs proper analysis. Long before their advent into India, the Turk had been Persianized in his thought and behaviour. The spirit of Persian Renaissance though a spent up force at this time, had so captivated his imagination that he was anxious to recreate and revive as much of Persian culture and traditions as possible[3]. From theories of Kingship to names, .court etiquettes and army organisation every detail of the political organization breathed the Persian atmosphere. The Sultanate an anomolous but inevitable growth in Islamic polity as it could not turn to the pious Caliphate for guidance or inspiration. The Sassanids had elaborated an efficient

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1. Abdul Halim; History of the Lodi Sultans of Delhi and Agra; Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i-Delli, Delhi, 1974, P. 218.

2. A.B. Pandey; The first Afghan Empire; Central Book Depot, Allahabad, 1966, PP. 55-59.

   K.S. Lal; Twilight of the Delhi Sultanate; Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1985, P. 119.

3. Masse, Henri; Persian Beliefs and Customs; New Haven, 1954, PP. 68-70.

state, apparatus, perhaps the most-perfect in the history of Asia Minor[1]; and so the monarchical traditionsof Persia could best serve the idealogical and cultural needs of the Sultanate. The last part of Quranic Verse "Obey God, obey the Prophet and obey those with authority"[2] found full confirmation with Persian concept of Kings during the Sultanate. The Sultans consequently invoked the spirit of Sassanid Persia and derived idealogical vitality and cultural stamina from it[3]. They rescued the great Persian heroes like Jamshed, KaiKhusrou, Kaiqubad[4], Bahram and Afra Siyab from the Sassanid oblivion and rehabiliated them in Muslim political consciousness as ideals social culture and political behaviour. All sorts of traditions—genuine and fake—associated with these heroes were revived under the belief that Kingship was not possible without emulating Persian customs and ways of life. Balban gave the popular names of Muslim families—Mahmud and Muhammad to his sons born before his accession, but his grandsons, how were born after his accession, were named as Kaiqubad, Kaikhursan, Kaimurs after the

1. W., Barthold; Iran; tran. into English by G.K. Narinent, Bombay, P. 37.

2. Yahyabin Ahmad Sirhindi; Tarikh-i-Fakhr-u'd-din Mubarak Shah; ed.M. Hidayat Husain, Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1931, P. 12.

3. Barani; Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi; PP. 25, 30-31.,142.

4. Amir Khusrau writes about kaiqubad

چون تو شری سایه یزدان پاک فشلو باسن بدین مشت خاکی ـ
افرخورشید بثلهی توهی نی عطلم الہسی توئی ـ

"Quiran-u's - sa'dain; Editions, Maulvi qudrat-ullah, Hussaini Press, 1261, A.H., P. 205. 25.

Persian Kings. Both Iltutmish and Balban traced their origin to Afrasiyab[1] and Amir Khusrau found no better compliment for Kaiquabad than[2].

وارث آلفیل کیان کیقباد ـ کافر جدکیا نیس راد

While nominating Razia as his successor, Iltutmish did not hesitate for a moment to consider the legal properiety of his action. He drew his inspiration from the Persian traditions, in which a daughter succeeding his father was not an unusual phenomenon. The fact that two daughters of Khusrau Parvez- Purandukht and Arjumanddukht—had ascended the throne one after the other in th 7th century[3], was enough to satisfy Iltumish's couscience. He bowed before the Persian traditions ignoring the interdict of the Prophet against entrusting government to women[4].

So far as the administrative institutions of Delhi Sultanate were concerned, most of them had evolved and developed in Persian lands and consequently the Persian stamp was very deep upon them. The slave of the Imperial Household were recruted maintained

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1. Addressing Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, Imam A'sir-u'd-din Muntakhab wrote:

ای چراغ لاولاد افراسیاب نا حرا لیلا مثـ مالک اقاب

"Afrasiyab became the successor of Akab"

See Barni; Tarikh-i-Firoz-Shahi; P.37.

2. Amir Khusrau; Qiran-u's-Sadain; P.28. Vide Nigam; Nobility under the Sultans of Delhi (A.D. 1206-1398); Munshiram Manohar Lal, New Delhi, 1968, P. 93.

3. Malcom; History of Persian; Vol. I, 54.

4. Nigam; Nobility under the Sultans of Delhi (A.D. 1206-1398); P. 93.

and disciplined according to Persian traditions. The armies were modelled on the armies of medieval Persia, with the same arms, equipment and tacties.

In their social life also the Turks adopted Persians customs, etiquettes and ceremonials. The court of the Delhi Sultan was, in certain respects a replica of the Sassanid Court[1]. The customs of Pabos or Zaminbos[2] was introduced and the Persian festival of

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1. Barani; Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi; P. 25. Amir Khusrau declares Kaiqubad's court to be superior to the courts of Kisra, Zuhak, Faridun and Jam. see Amir Khusrau's; Qiran-us-Sa'dain; P. 25.

2. The custom of prostrating before the king was prevalent both in India and Persia. The Muslim rulers, both Caliphs and Sultans, adopted it very early. The Seljuqs, the Samanid's and Ghazanavids introduced it in their courts, if it reached the Delhi Courts through Persian Channels, Indian traditions brought it to the medival Khanqahs. All visitors to Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Ganj-i-Shakar and Shaikh Nizamu'd-din Auliya showed their respect to the great saints by laying their foreheads on the ground. Amir Hasan refers to this practice again and again Fawaid-ul-Fu'ad; PP.158-159. Conversation of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din. Auliya, complied by Amir Hasan Alasijzi, Nawal Kishre Press, Lucknow, 1302 A.H. ed. Latif Malik, Lahore, 1966.

   Shaikh Nazir-u'd-din Chiragh discontinued it on account of its illegal character and declared. پیش عنلحوق سر برزمین سالان روا نیست (It is not lawful to place head on the ground before a creature)- Conversation of Shaikh Nasir-ud-din chiragh of Delhi compiled by Hamid qalander. Text Edi. by K.A. Nizami; Medieval India; vol. II, centre of Advanced study, Dept. of History, A.M.U., Bombay. (1972), 157.

Nauroz[1] was celebrated with great pomp and elcat. The Mughal Cataclysm had dealt a severe blow to Persian culture in 'Ajam', the Turkish Sultans of India gave it the Protection it needed and, when almost all its centres had fallen, Delhi rose into eminence as the last citadel of Persian traditions.

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1. Nauroz (or Navgroz as it was called by the Sassanids) was an ancient Persian festival. Alberunì thus describes the general schemes of the celebration of Nauroz. "In these five days it was the custom of the Kisras (Persian Kings) that the king opened the Nauroz and then proclaimed to all that he would hold a session for them. On the second day the session was for men of high rank, and for the members of the great families. On the third day the session was for his warriors and for the highest Maubadhs (Priests). On the fourth day it was for his family, his relaitons, and on the fifth day it was for his children and clients. When the Sixth day came and he had done justice to all of them, he celebrated Nauroz for himself and conversed only with his social friends and those who were admitted into his privacy" as cited in James Hastings; Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics; edi by Edinburgh (1914) Vol. V, 872.

   That the festival of Nauroz was celebrated in India for four days is clear from the following statement by Amir Hasan Sijzi made before shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya.

   پیش ازین به چهار روز که نوروز بود بنده شعری گفته است -

   (Four days before the Nauroz I have composed a couplet

   -Fawa'id-ul-Fu'ad; P. 127.

Cultural legacy of Persians for Delhi Sultanate came to surface with the invasion of India by Mahmud of Ghazni. though mainly a military movement. was not without its cultural importance in so far as it served to introduce Persian language and literature in India. Many poets and literati actually accompained him in his campaigns. The introduction of Persian in the higher level ·of adminstrative throughout the Ghurid possessions in India introduced uniformity in the language of administration. A very important sphere in which the impact of the Turkesh conquest of northern India was felt was the language of the administration. Consicous to this aspect of Turkish contribution. Amir Khusrău remarks,

> "But the Persian speech (guftar) is uniform in Hindustan from the banks of the river sind to the shores of the sea. Such a great language is our medium of expression ...... and this Persian of ours is the original Persian (dari) 'of the court'. The Indian dialects differ at every hundred karohs, but the Persian language is the same over an area of over one thousand farsangs .....Here is the Persian language in which pronunciation of words in complete agreement with their orthography".

> Muhammad Habib states on the basis of his observation of Indians in Persia. "Knowledge of conversational Persian is not hard to acquire for a north Indian. Persian Verbs differ from those of the Indian Languages, but a small percentage of nouns is the same. and the construction of sentences is similar. An illiterate north Indian (whether Hindu or Muslim), if taken to Persia and compelled to shift for himself in a purely Persian environment. can learn to express himself in Persian in six to eights weeks"[1].

1. Nizami; Foundations of the Delhi Sultanate; P. 189

Habib; Political theory of the Delhi Sultanate; P. 129-30.

The art of writing history, which Persian brought in its trail , proved fruitful in setting a good example to the country which, from this period onward produced historical records in different parts and provinces.

At the same time Persians who had become proficient in Arabic wrote major works in that language. Ibn Khaldun, an Arab from North Africa whose brilliant work, the Muqaddimah or "Introduction to history", was written near the end of the 14th century, had this to say :

> "All of the founders of grammar were of non-Arab (Persian) descent.... Most of the hadith scholars who preserved traditions for the Muslims were also non Arabs (Persians), or Persian in language and upbringing.... only the non Arabs (Persians) engaged in the task of preserving knowledge and writing systematic works. Thus, the truth of the following statement by the Prophet becomes apparent : 'if scholarship hung suspended in the highest parks of heaven, the people of Fars would reach and take it"[1].

Persian literature is amazingly rich, extensive, and varied, not inferior in these respects to any other national Lterature[2]. The subject matter includes Universal, general, and regional history; geography; accounts of travel; encylopedias; anthologies; fables, anecdotes; essays; ethics; manuals of conduct and practical wisdom; grammer; philogy, mysticism; theology, including exegesis and tradition; jurisprudence; medicine, astromomy; including astrology and biography.

1. Nizami; Foundation of the Delhi Sultanate; P. 189.

2. Janet al Rypka; History of Iranian Literature; Dordrecht, Holland, 1968, P.19.

Abu Rayhan Muhammad al-Biruni[1] a Persian, better known in Europe as Aliboron, came to India and made himself acquintanted with Hindu learning. He came to India and took up service under Mahmud of Ghazni. He was a scholar of Persian and Arabic. He stayed in India for many years and studied sanskrit works into Arabic and a number of Arabic works into Persian. Tarikh-ul-Hind, gives an account of the literature[2], sciences and religion of the Hindus as he found them at the commencement of the 11th century. Other prominent figures were Firdausi, Unsuri and Farrukhi. Eminent Persian poets in the court of Ghazni were Abul Qasim Hasan, Ibn Ahamd Balkhi, called Unsuri who was the Panegyrist of his court[3].

Firadawsi, born about 932 A.D; near Tus in Khorasan, was named Abul Qasim Mansur, and took a pen name which means "Paradise" coming to the court of Mahmud when he was already middle aged, he continued working on his Shahnama, or "Book of

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1. Qeyam-ud-din Ahmad; India by Al-Biruni; National Book Trust, India, 1983. P. 16. A.L. Srivastava; The Sultanate of Delhi; Shivalal Agarwal & company, Agra, 1969, P. 364. S.H.H. Rizavi, "A unique unknown book of al Beruni" Islamic culture, Hyderabad, volumes xxvii and xxxviii, 1963, 64.
2. Ali Asghar Hekmat; Sarzamin-E-Hind; Tehran univ Press, Tehran, 1959, P. 97.
3. A.L. Srivastava; The Sultanate of Delhi; P.60.

the Kings" and about 1010 A.D. completed its fifty episodes in 60,000 couplets[1].

By temperament the Persians are natural poets; Poetry rather than blood may run in their veins. The love of poetry was so strong that it affected prose, which often desplays rhythm and rhyme. Poetry is classified as epic or lyric, with the latter term covering a wide range of forms[2].

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1. Satish Chandra; Medieval India: from Sultanate of the Mughals; Har Anand Pub. Pvt. Ltd., Delhi, 1997, P. 258-259.

   بسی رنج بردم درین سال سی - عجم زنده کردم دراین پارسی (شاهنامهٔ فردوسی)

   (Firdausi himself has expressed his views about his own ShahNama that during the 30 years of writing and completing the ShahNama. Lot of troubles and pains, he faced and says that I have given a new life to the Persians, through my work ShahNama which will keep alike my motherland and people of this land and they will never die.

   Samina Bağhch-c-h Ban; Farsi Baray-E-Ghair Farsi Zabanan; Idarah-e-Adabiyat-Delli, Delhi (2nd ed.), P. 92-93.

2. Epic poetry employs the mathnavi that of rhyming distiches. Most popular in all periods was the ghazal the ode or lyric, with from four to sixteen couplets, in which the poet included his takhallus, or "Penname" in the final hemistich . The Qasida, the ode or elergy, was longer than the ghazal, and maintained, as did the ghazal, and identical rhyme throughout. The rubaiرباعی, from the Arabic word for "four", with its Persian plural rubaiyat, was of course, the quatrian. See Wilber; India Past and Present; P. 92-93.

   Karman; Iran's Radiant Resurgence; (Saga of 50 years of The Glorious Reign of Pahlavi Dyansty with Spot light on Indo-Iran relations), orental Institute, Bombay, 1997, P. 73.

Omar Khayyam, a Persian poet, Sadi, a native of Shriaz, brought to that town a renown that would be rivaled only by the works of Hafiz another Shirazi. About 1226 A.D. he left Shiraz on travels that took him to India and central Asia. While it is possible to understand the most vital features of Indian mystical verse in terms of native spiritual tradition, the influence of Persian sufism certainly gave it a new mention. Nizam-ud-din Shami wrote '<u>Zafar Nama</u>' or "Book of victory", which was the only account of conquests to be completed while timur still lived.

Omar Khayyam's (Seljukperiod) <u>Rubaiyat</u>[1], Sadi's (1184-1292 A.D.) <u>Golestan</u>[2],

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1.. این قافلهٔ عمر عجب می گزرد — دریاب دمی باطرب می گزرد
ساقی غم فردای حریفان چه خوری — پیش آر پیاله را که شب می گزرد (خیام)

Khayyam says that our life is passing very fast with incidents and painfull experiences for which always we cry and having complaints but Khayyam console us with the following <u>Rubaiyat</u> and says that take all these things easily without any tension and keep youself happy and cheerful because your left time is only today and you can start a new phase of life with cheer. See Edward Fitzgerald; <u>Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam;</u> Eqbal and Co. Shahbad Avenue, Tehran, Iran, P. 18.

بنی آدم اعضای یکدیگرند — که در آفرینش ز یک گوهرند
2. چو عضوی بدرد آورد روزگار — دگر عضوها را نماند قرار (گلستان سعدی)

This copulet of Sadi shows that he was the poet of social reform and creater of the humanity and unity and integrity among the people of any caste and creed of world. Therefore in his said couplet he says, that all the people of world are created by one spiritual power without any differences and quality and beauty, are imcomparable with each other because they are equally good like any kind of ornaments, like Pearal. Just to prove his this thought he has quoted an example that there is a pain in any part of the body it is not limited to that part only but the whole part of the body. Sameway on this earth, if a person has any pain, its effect the entire society of the world. See Samina Baghch Ban; <u>Farsi Bray-e-Ghair Farsi Zabanan;</u> P. 172.

Rumi's <u>Masnavi</u>[1] and Hafiz's (1326-1390) <u>Diwan</u>[2] (Timurid Period), became a mark of culture in India.

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1. بشنو از نی چون حکایت می کند
از جدائی ها شکایت می کند (مثنوی مولانا روم)

Maulanan Rumi has compiled his Masnavi which is called Quran in Persian, in which he has illustrated, described and highlighted and pointed out, how the people of entire world, whether from any caste, creed or colour be united. He was not happy with the differences and enmity among the people of the world. In the following couplet, in which a word "نی" (Flute) is Rumi itself, listen the flute and its painful and sorrow tune which is nothing else than a complaint against the inhuman act of the world, Rumi,

2. من در پیاله عکس رخ یار دیده ایم
ای بی خبر ز لذت شرب مدام ما (حافظ)

Hafiz says that you people cannot understand why I take wine because I've seen the face of my beloved inside the class of the wine. Here in this couplet the cup of wine is heart, face of the beloved is god and the wine is love and affeciton to the God.

شکر شکن شوند همه طوطیان هند
زین قند پارسی که به بنگاله می رود (حافظ)

When Hafiz was invited by King (of Bengal) Sultan Mohammad Ghyas-ud-din to India. He did not come to India but in reply of the invitation of king and in his praise and respect to the Indian and its soul, he sent his one <u>ghazal</u> and above said couplet has been taken from the same <u>ghazal</u> in which Hafiz says that "all the people of India are very sweet like the bird tuti and they are very nice people and soft spoken and nice people and my this <u>ghazal</u> which is also like a swee tis going to India at Bengal". See Mehdi Hausain Nasiri; <u>Sanadid-e-Ajam</u>; Rai Sahib Lal Ram Dayal Aggarwal, Allahabad, 1989, P. 235.

Notable Persian poets under the Ghurids were Taj-ud-din Hasan, Rukn-ud-din Hamsa, Shihab-ud-din Muhammad Rashid, poetically surnamed Shihab, Nazuki of Maragha and Qazi Hamid of Balkh were a few among the eminent poets and Literati who shed lustre on the court of Muhammad Ghuri.

A modern writer has advanced a clain on behalf of the Sultanate of Delhi that it was a culture state. Older Historians on the other hand, cling to the opinion that the period (1206-1526 A.D.), from literary and cultured points of view, was entirely barren. There were Persian writers and poets. Philosophers and logicians at the court of almost every Sultan from Qutub-ud-din Aibak down to Sikandar Lodi. Some of them had even Chroniclers. The most important names of the latter category are Husan Nizami, the author of Taj-ul-Maasir; Minhaj-ud-din Siraj Afif, the author of Tarikh-i- Firoz Shahi, Yahya bin Ahmad, the author of Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi, and Isami (Dakhin), the author of the Futuh-us-Salatin[1].

Taj-ul-Maasir by Hasan Nizami gives a narrative of the occurrences from 1192 A.D. to 1228 A.D. and is thus an important source on the career and regin of Qutub-ud-din Aibak and on the early years of Iltutmish. He came to India during one of the invasions of Mahmud of Ghur and settled down in the country. Being a contemporary writer with opportunities to acquire first hand information about important about important happenings, his work is a primary authority on the early history of the Sultanate of Delhi[2].

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1. I.H. Qureshi; The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi; Mushiram Manohar Lal, New Delhi, 1971, P.17.
2. Agha Mehdi Husain; The Rise and fall of the Muhammad bin Tughlaq; Luzac & Co., London 1938, P. 365.

It must be noted however, that basically the mode of writing history, brought in by the Pesian tradition, centred around the king and the court; unlike the Arabic pattern emphasized by IbnKhaldun—that centred around the history of people; and in it influenced the pattern of history writing for many centuries in India.

There were eminent Persian poets also during the Sultanate Period from Qutub-ud-din Aibak to Sikander Lodhi. Khwaja Abu Nasr poetically surnamed Nasiri[1], Abu Bakar bin Muhammad Ruhani of Samarkand[2]. Taj-ud-din Dabir[3] and Nur-ud-din Muhamad Awfi, the author of the earliest known memoir of Persion poets Lubab-ul-Albad لباب | الباب and Jawami-ul-Hikayat جوامع الحکایت wo Lawami-ur-Riwayat[4] لوامع الروایت According to Firishta, other eminent poets of Persian who flourished during the reign of Ala-ud-din Khalji were Sadr-ud-din Ali, Fakhr-ud-din Qawwas, Hamid-ud-din Raja, Maulana Arif, Abdul Hakim (Ubaid Hakim) and Shihab-ud-din Sadr-nishin, all of whom had their Diwans[5].

1. Badaoni; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh; Vol I. trans and edi by S.A. Ranking, Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i-Delli, Delli. Reprint 1943, 65.
2. Muhammad Awfi; Lubab-ul-Albab; Vol. II ed. E.G. Browne, London, 1903, 282.
3. Badaoni; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh; Vol I. 67.
4. Barni; Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi. Vol.I. 360.
5. Firishta; History of the Rise of the Mohamedan Power in India till the year 1612 A.D; Vol I, trans by John Briggs. London, 1829, 214.

During the Tughlaq period many Persian poets came to Delhi[1]. A Persian poet-named Badr-ud-din, a native of chach or Tashkand, came to India and attracted some notices at the court of Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq. His odes supply us by menas of chronograms with in valuable information and enable us to fix the date of events. His two books, viz; Diwan (which consisted of Qasidas, ghazals, qitas and rubais) and Shahnama are well known. Another Persian historian Isami's Futuh-us-Salatin فتوح السلاطین is a history in verse of the Muslim rulers of India from the time of the Ghazanavids to 1349-50 A.D. It may be noted that Futuh-us-Salatin is written on the model of Firdausi's Shahnama and was dedicated to Alau-ud-din Hasan Kangu (1347-1358 A.D.)

The Sultan Firoz Tughlaq was himself a great scholar, he possessed an extensive knowledge of the Persian Classics. When the poet Ubaid Zakani came to Delhi and read the first Couplet of his panegyric, the Sultan cried, "No more! the treasure may not possess the money to reward thee for all thy couplets". He then ordered purses full of gold to be piled round the poet right upto the poets head and all this money was given to him in reward[2].

Sikander Lodi was a scholar and a poet of no mean merit. He wrote verses under the pen name of Gulrukh. Many Persian scholars and poets were attracted to his court. Among these Rafi-ud-din Shirazi, a Persian scholar of eminence deserves mention.

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1. Agha Mehdi Husain; The Rise and fall of the Muhammad bin Tughlaq; P. 251.

   A.J. Arberry; Classical Persian Literature; Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1958, P. 61.

2. I.H. Quershi; The Administration of the Mughal Empire; P. 171-172.

However, the most important poet of the Lodi Period was Jamat-ud-din, who was not only a good poet but was also a well travelled man and had established contact with the celebrated Jami at Heart. He is particularly know as the author of Siyar-ul-Arifin and Mihr-u-Mah.

It will be seen that during the period under discussion the contributors to Persian learning in India were mostly Persians by nationality or persons of Persian origin. The foundations was nevertheless well laid for a Persian literature, historical, literary and religious—which was destined to exercise a potent and appreciable influence on the contemporary and later languages, literature and religious thoughts of India. A very important contribution made by the Persian scholars of the age was in the domain of writing history. The result was a definite source material for a history of the Sultanate period.

Persian Art has always been decorative and, normally, non-representational. The earlier works of art established standard compositions which endured with little change for centuries, although they were sometimes reworked as new artistic media came into popularity. There was no real break between pre-Islamic and Islamic art, familiar decorative forms were of construction common to Sasanian fire temples and palaces re-appeared in the Muslim monuments of the country[1].

Islam entered India through western Asia, and the two countries that played significant roles in the Islamic phase of Indian History were Persia and Afghanistan. From millenniums before Christ, India and these regions are known to have fruitful cultural contacts in which each made significant contributions to the development of the other. Arthur Upham Pope has ably demonstrated how Indian ideas in art and architecture

1. Donald Wilber, Iran Past & Present; P. 79.

migrated to western Asia and reached concrete forms under the technical ingenuities of the Persian builders. Indeed, many of the fundamental forms in Persian architecture, such as the pointed and trefoil arches, the transverse vault, the octagonal, form of the building, the dome etc, originated in India, but mainly as ideas and suggestion which reached practical realization through the technique of Persia. "In Short", Pope observes, "India has proposed and Persia disposed, but what India gave she received back in a new form that enabled her to pass to fresh architectural triumphs"[1].

In the Achamenian and Sassanian periods, the relations between our two nations expanded widely. As we know in the famous Ajanta Caves[2], there exist sculptures which show the ambassador sent by Emperor Khasrow Parviz to the Indian court, during the audience granted to the ambassador. Ajanta was painted at the time when the Sassanians were about to give way to the Arabs. The Persians, however, were to wait in the wings for the time being to stage a spectacular comeback as Iranian Muslims and exercise profound influence on world culture through their arts, architecture and literature.

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1. Arthur Upham Pope; Some interrelations between Persian and Indian Architecture; Vol IX. Indian Arts and Letters, 1935, 35.

   Yves Porter; Painters, Paintings & Books; (An eassy on Indo-Persian Technical Literature12 & 19th centuries, Manahor Centre for Human Sciences, New Delhi, 1944, P. 10.

2. در غار شمارهٔ یک تصویر از سفارت ایران است که
دربار خسرو پرویز پادشاه ساسانی در اوایل قرن هفتم بهندوستان
بدربار پولکسین دوم پادشاه دکن آمده اند و طبری مورخ نیز در تاریخ باین سفارت اشاره کرده است

   There is one of picture in the Cave of Ajanta, which was sent by Sassani king Khasrow Parvez (589 A.D.) to Pulkskin II the king of Deccan. A Persian historian Tabri has also mentioned about it in his history, Tarikh-i-Tabari.

Bihzad[1] has always been considered the greatest Persian miniature Painter and, of course had a marked influence upon contemporary as well as later artists. A Nizami manuscript also has three small pictures signed by Bihzad. A Zafarnama, written is 1467 for Sultan Husayn Bayqara, contains six magnificient double page paintings of such scenes in the life of Timur as the king enthroned in a garden, or supervising the construction of a mosque.

It is. widely believed that the art of painting did not exist at the court of the Sultans of Delhi, this is a mis conception. The calcutta Art Gallery possesses a picture of a music party at the court of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq painted by Shahpur of Khurasan in 1524 A.D., the artist, describes his work as 'a copy'. A modern critic discovers in the picture "the simple delight in the beauty of nature, and the whole hearted desire to be one with it which breathe in the paintings of Ajanta and the Sculpture of Borobudir[2]"

In fact Shahpur must have caught this spirit from the original, which one may assume with confidence, was painted at Delhi. Closely allied to Art was architecture. Ala-ud-din Khilji was a lover of architecture and one of his building, known as Alai Darwaza which is, an extension of the Qutubi Mosque in Delhi, is, in the eyes of critics, the most beautiful and perfect specimen of early Persian architecture[3].

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1. Wilber; Iran Past & Present; P. 112.
2. Havell; Indian Sculpture and Painting; George G. Harrap & Co, London 1908, P. 190-191.

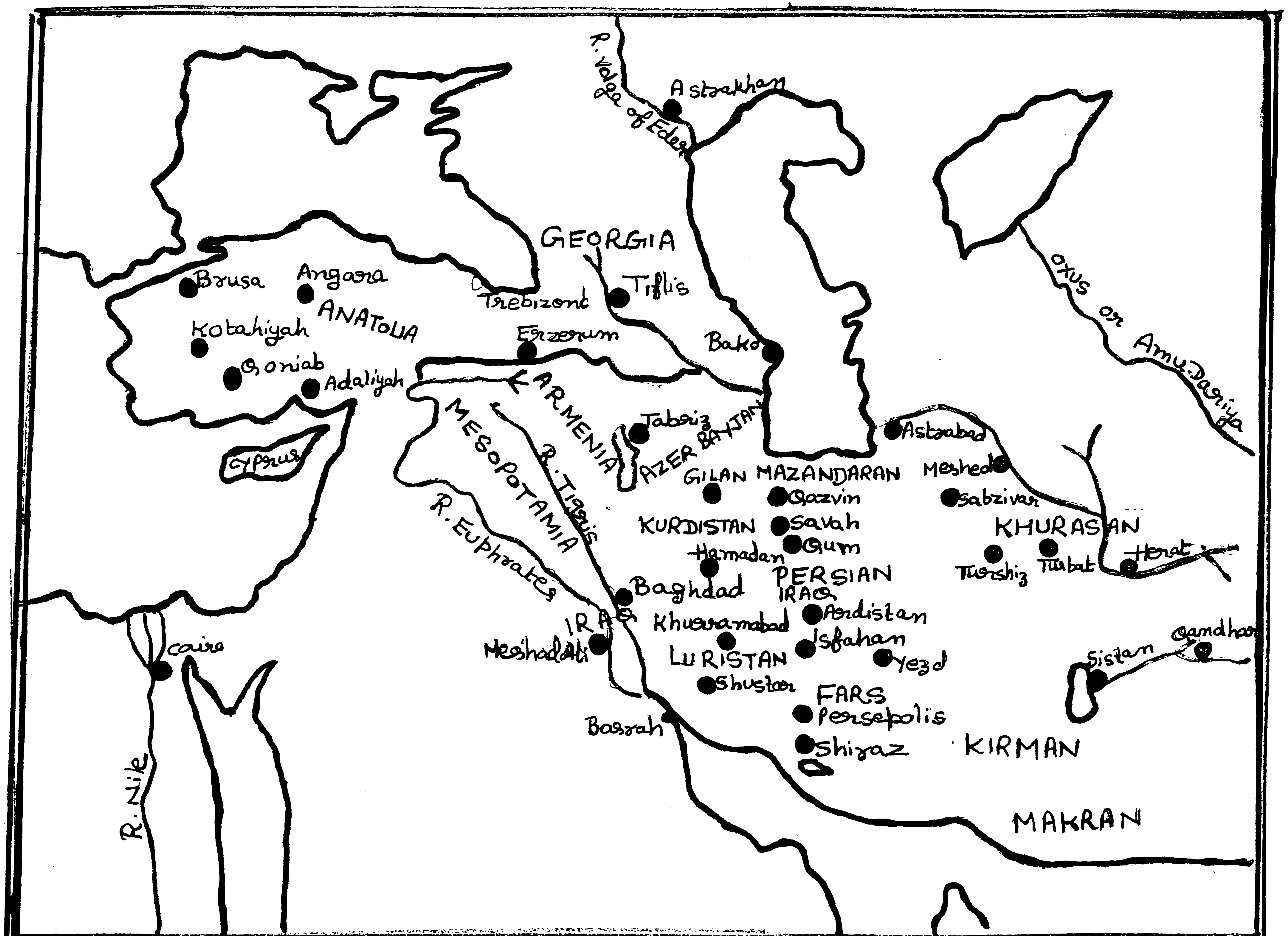
   I.H. Qureshi; The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi; P. 171-172.
3. A.L. Srivastava; The Sultanate of Delhi; P. 173.

   K.M. Munshi; The Delhi Sultanate; Bhartiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay, 1960, P. 535.

Mongol invasions put an end to the Seljuq Empire, causing its people to seek refuge in other countries. Some of them found shelter at the court of Delhi. With these refugees crept in India, the Seljukian style of architecture, some salient features of which are visible in the Alai Gate[1].

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1. Percy Brown; Indian Architecture; Islamic Period, III edition, Bombay, P. 22.



Persia - 1600 A.D.

CHAPTER - 2

Imperialism : Persian Contributions Towards the expansion of the Mughal Empire.

Persians contributed a lot towards the building of the Mughal Empire[1]. Persian nobles fought in numerous battles for the sake of empire. Both Babar and Humayun recieved help from Persian royality and nobility during the critical junctures of their Careers. Babar ascended the throne at Farghana[2], a small kingdom in Central Asia, at the tender age of 11 years. The nobility, predominantly of Mongol race[3], to begin with, displayed enormous sense of loyalty and helped him save kingdom from his elederly and.

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1. Persians, also called Khurasanis and Iraqis, comprised the Persian speaking peoples from Herat up to Baghdad i.e. the inhabitants of the whole of the present day Persia and Persian speaking parts of Afganistan and Iraq. See Badaoni; Muntakhab - ut - Tawarikh; ed. Ahmad Ali and Lees, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1865 - 68, P. 326 - 7.

2. Ferishta; History of the Rise of the Mahomadan Power in India; Vol. II. trans. John Briggs, 5. F.G. Talbot; Memoirs of Babar; Ess Ess Publication, Delhi, 1971, P.7.

3. The hostile treatment meted out by them to Babar and their rustic habits created a sense of aversion for them in the heart of Babar. He sums up his sentiments regarding them in some verses, which are translated, as follows : -

   If the Moghul race were a race of Angels, it is a bad race, and were the name Moghul written in gold, it would be odious. Take care not to pluck one year of corn from a Moghul's harvest. The Moghul seed is such that whatever is sowed with it is execrable. See Mirza Haidar Dughlat; Tarikh-i-Rashidi; trans. by E. Denison, Ross, Patna, 1973, P. 4.

ambitious rivals[1]. However the crises began with the projected conquest of Samarkand, Shaibaq Khan defeated Babar in Samarkand in 1510 A.D. In 1513 A.D Babar made an alliance with the Shah of Persia, Ismail Safavi and conquered Bokhara and Samarkand. Not withstanding all these successes his position was as precarious as ever. The Shah had exacted from him a very heavy price, Babar was to hold those kingdoms under the Shah., he was also to become a convert to the Shia faith and adopt all its symbols, as well as to enforce the Shia creed on the orthodox Sunni subjects of his conquered kingdoms. The Uzbegs would not allow him to rule in rest. His conformity to the Athna-i-Asharya (Shia faith) in his treaty with the Persian Monarch annoyed his Sunni subjects and alienated from him. Though Babar refused to persecute anybody for his religious faith, his own conversion was a main factor of his fall (containment in his homeland) and may have also led him to explore other lands and countries for conquest[2]. It was with the Persian troops of Shah Ismail that Babar ultimately regained his lost cities[3].

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1. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. I, trans. Beveridge, Delhi, 88. " when Babar alighted at the Citadel of Andijan all the officers came to wait upon him and recieved marks of favour from him...... all the officers small and great, united to defend the fort."
2. Radhey Shyam; Babar; Janaki Prakashan, Delhi, 1978, P.116-117; Rushbrooke Williams; An Empire Builder of the 16th Century; Longomans, 1918, P.102; S.R. Sharma; Mughal Empire in India; Educational Publisher, Agra, 1971, P. 12 S.M. Jaffar, The Mughal Empire from Babar to Aurangzeb, Ess Ess Publications, Delhi, 1936, P. 12.
3. Firoze Cowasji Davar; Iran and India through the Ages; Asia publishing House, Bombay, 1962, P. 163-165.

The mass of nobility which passed on from Umar Shaikh Mirza to Babar was predominantly Mongol in character. For the composition of nobility, few Uzbegs and Persians could also be found in the fold of Babar's nobility[1]. i.e. Saif Ali Beg[2], Baqir K. Najm Sani[3], Muhammad Sultan Mirza[4], (Tarkhan Maulana) Nur-Ud-Din[5]

Saif Ali Beg a Persian a servant of Babar and the father of Bairam Khan. He accompanied Babar during his expeditions in Badakhshan and Balkh. Baqir K. Najm Sani (his name was Yar Ahmad), the Vakilu-s.-Sultanat of Shah Ismial Safavi. Shah gave him the title of Nazm Sani (Second Star)[1]. and raised his rank above that of all the other

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1. P.S. Bedi; The Mughal Nobility under Akbar; ABS Publications, Jalandhar, 1985, P. 17.
2. Abul Fazal; Akbarnama; Vol. I, 381

   Shah Nawaz Khan; Maathir-ul-Umara; Vol I, trans. by H. Beveridge and Beni Prasad, Janki Prakashan, Patna, 1979, 368.
3. ibid, P. 385.
4. Shah Nawaz Khan; Maathir-ul-Umara; Vol.II, Part I, 207.
5. Shah Nawaz Khan; Maathir-ul-Umara; Vol.I, 460.
6. Najm Sani's magnificence and grandeur were such that nearly two hundred sheep were daily used for his table (Shilan) and that a thousand dishis of excellent food were his daily portion. On marches forty strings of camels carried his kitchen. In the Transoxiana Campaign, though he was marching rapidly, thirty silver caldrons (deg) were used in cooking. When his magnificence and greatness had got to such a pitch, and he had become arrogant and proud, he was appointed to conquer Turan. See Shah Nawaz Khan; Maathir-ul-Umara; Vol.I, 385.

officers. Later on Shah sent him to assist. Babar who had left that Country on account of the predominence of the Uzbegs, and had applied for aid to the Shah.

Najm Sani crossed the Oxus and set himself to commit massacre and rapine. The Uzbeg Princes barricaded themselves in Ghajdawan and prepared for battle. The Qizilbash officers, who were insincere and treacherous, prosecuted the siege negligently. Another Persian nobel who served under Babar was Muhammad Sultan Mirza. His father was Wais Mirza. In the time of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara, who was his maternal grand father, he was honoured and favoured. When the king died, and a great dispersion took place in Khurasan, he took up service under Babar and was trearted with regard and favour. Nur-ud-din[1]. entered the service of Babar along with Qadi Burhan Khawafi. He became favourite Counsellor and associate of Humayun.[2]

As Babar was assisted by Shah Ismail Safavi and few Persian nobles, so tow was Humayun protected by Shah Tahmasp[1], son of Shah Ismail when the Mughal King was

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1. Badaoni; Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh, Vol.II, trans. and ed. by W.H. Lowe, Academic Asiatica, Patna, 1973, 197-200.

2. Bayazid Biyat; Tadhkira-i-Humayun wa Akbar; ed. by Hidayat Hasain, Calcutta, 1941, P. 52, 178.

3. Jauhar, Private Memoirs of Humayun; Tezkereh Al Vakiat, trans. Major Charles Stewart, Idarah-I-Adabiyat-I-Delli, Delhi, 1972, P. 90. The author Jauhar was Humayun's Aftabaci (ewer bearer) for more than twenty years, and was his constant companion and intimate confident. The authgor being an eye witness gives a detailed account of Hu, mayun while he was in Iran.

defeated and hunted out of India by the Afghan King Sher Shah in 1541 A.D.[1], it was also with the help of Persian troops that Humayun in 1555 AD regained the throne of Delhi from Sikander Sur. Ali Quli Khan Andarab a Persian noble with Khwaja Khizer Khan helped Humayun in resisting Sikander Sur[2], and later on he went with Shams-ud-din Muhammad Khan Arka to oppose Bairam Khan.

In 1543 A.D. Humayun entered Sistan, Ahmad Sultan Shamlu, governor of that province under Shah Tahmasp, received him with great kindness. Thence, he proceeded to Herat, because he had heard great praise of the city, and was equally well recieved. He recieved all that he could require, and lacked nothing untill the time of his meeting Shah Tahmasp. All the palaces and gardens of Herat are beautiful to see and His Mejesty visited them, after which he took his departure for Mashad and Tus. Tahmasp, the Shah of Persia, issued instructions to his officers to accord him a right royal welcome on his arrival.

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1. R.P. Tripathi; Some Aspects of Muslim Administration; Allahabad, central book depot, 1966, P. 198. When Humayun got the new that Sher Khan was rebelliously inclined towards the Mughals, he sent Hindu Beg to Jaunpur with directions to write in full and true report regarding Sher Khan. Sher Khan acted shrewdly and by sending magnificent presents to Hindu Beg, he won his good will. Hindu Beg informed Humayun that Sher Khan did not harbour any rebellious intentions and thus Humayun was satisfied at this report, (which was ofcourse fake and proved harmful to the Mughal interests in the long run).

2. Shah Nawaz Khan; Massir-ul-Umara; Vol.I, 196.

Humayun obtained from the Shah a force of 14,000 men, with whom he marched towards Qandhar. In return Humayun promissed to establish the Shia faith in his dominions, when he re-acquired to hand over Qandhar to the Persians[1]. Humayun, inspite of his endeavours and importunities, it is stated, he could not shake the belief of his guest in the Sunni doctrine. In accordance with the advice of his well wishers, Humayun agreed to accept the religion of his host after a great reluctance. The Shah promised to help him with a contingent to conqueror Kabul, Qandhar and Bokhara.

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1. When Humayun showed some distinction to accept the terms, Shah Tahmasp appears to have sent him a large supply of fuel with the message that it should serve as his funeral pyre if he failed to become a Shia. Humayun was also presented with three papers, any one of which he was asked to sign. The gazi who brought these to him said that it was his duty as well as interest to comply with the demand, which he had no means of effectually resisting. The memoir-writer does not mention; and may not have know the contents of the papers, but it seems clear that they must have contained a profession of the Shia religion, and a promise to introduce it into India, as well as, an agreement to cede the frountier province or Kingdom of Qandhar .... That Humayun himself professed to have been converted appears from a pilgrimage which he made to the tomb of Shaikh Safi at Ardebil, a mark of respect not very consistent with the character of professed Sunni"

   Elphilstone; History of India; ed. by E.B. Cowell Vikas Publishing House, Delhi, P.463-65

   Erskine; A History of India under the first two Sovereigns of the house of Taimur; Babar and Humayun; P 298.

Some Persian nobles joined Humayun when he was supported by Shah Tahmasp of Persia for the conquest of Qandhar and they preferred to remain with him rather go back. Prominent among them were Qasim Khan Nishapuri, Haidur Quli Beg Shamlu, Uzbeg brothers[1], Ali Quli and Bahadur Khan, Bairam Khan and Shah Abul Maali[2]. Humayun's attitude towards Persians was reflected in the belief noticed by Farishta[3].

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1. As many Historians in their books refer Ali Quli and Bahadur as Persians. However the fact is Haider Sultan Uzbeg Shaibani was an Uzbeg by race, he had married a Persian lady, and apparently he faught on the side of Tahmasp and the Persians in the battle of Jam which took place in September 1528AD. At the time of the returning of Humayun from Persia he entered into service with his two sons, Ali Quli and Bahadur did good service in the conquest of Qandhar. See Shah Nawaz Khan; Maasir-ul-Umara; Vol.I, 197.
2. Bayazid Biyat; Tazkira-i-Humayun Wa Akbar; P. 85.
3. Mahomed Kasim Farishta; Tarikh-i-Farishta; Vol.II trans by John Briggs, London, 1829, 243. " Kamran and some other Chugtai nobles believed him to be of Shia Persuasion, because he gave such encouragement to Kuzilbashis and the inhabitants of Irak to join his standards from his earliest years, so that many persons of eminence in Khurasan, devotees, of holy family, found favour with him. Among others was Bairam Khan Turkman, his most intimate and attached friend, who professed the religion of Imams. After the king acended the throne he elevated many Kuzilbashis (Persians) to high stations. It is said that Kamran Mirza was fond of talking to him on the subject of religion; so that while they were riding to gether on their retreat from Hindustan towards Lahore, they observed a dog lift up his leg against a tomb stone : Kamran remarked, " I conclude the man who is buried there in Hunefy (hetrodox)". Humayun replied, " Yes, no doubt, the dog is an orthodox brute". They were much in the habit of joking on such subjects; but the truth is that on these occasions, he merely wished to annoy Kamran, and please Bairam Khan and his companions. There can be no doubt that he was of the Hunefy persuasion, as appears from several of his poems, which though scarces are still extant".

A few other Persian nobles who served under Humayun were Muhammad Sultan Mirza who at the time of Humayun several times exhibited signs of a rebellious disposition, Humayun out of excessive kindness instead of Punishing him granted him a pardon[1]. Tarkhan Maulana also attached with Humayun. He gives his opinion about scientific matters[2], sometimes he consulted the king about mathematical problems. Another Persian noble was Muhammad Asghar and during the Humayun period obtained the style of Mir Munshi. In the battle which Tardi Beg Khan had with Hemu Baqqal (grocer), he as well as other took to flight[3].

Bairam Khan was a Persian and he preferred Persians and sccumbed to nepotism during the reign of Humayun. He had played an important role during Humayun's negotiations with Shah Tahmasp for getting support in a bid to conqueror India[4]. When Humayun after taking Qandhar made it over to the Persians according to the promise he had made to the Shah and decided upon conquering Kabul, it became necessary to have a place of safety for his family and domestics. Accordingly he took Qandhar by force from the Persians, and made it over to Bairam Khan, and wrote to the Shah a letter of apology saying, " Bairam Khan is the trusted servant of both of us, we have made over the fort to

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1. Abul Fazl; Ain-i-Akbari; Vol.II, trans. Jarrett, Asiatic society, Calcutta, 1783, 513.

2. Badaoni; Muntakhab-ul-[illegible]; Vol. III, 197-200.

3. Shah Nawaz Khan; Maasir-ul-Umara; Vol. I, 301.

4. Mahomad Kasim; Tarikh-i-Farishta; Vol.I, 241; Nizam-ud-din; Tabqat-i-Akbari; Vol.II, trans. by Brajendra Nath, Calcutta, 1936, 79.

him[1].

In 1554 A.D., in the battle of Maciwara, when with a few men he attacked a numerous army of Afghans and defeated it. He obtained the parganas of Sirhind, etc. in fief, and received the lofty titles of Yar Wafadar (The faithful friend), Baradur Neku-Siyar (Well cnditioned brother) and Farzand Saadatmand (auspicious son)[2]. In 1556 AD, Bairam Khan manage the affairs of the Panjab. Later on Bairam Khan began to take sides with Persian nobility.

As against the gains which accured to the Persians, the Turanis[3] like Tardi Beg, Musahi Beg, had to suffer a number of humiliations.

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1. Bayazid Biyat; Tazkira-i-Humayun Wa Akbar; P 9, 41.

   Banerji; 'The capture of Qandhar September 3, 1545A.D'. Journal of the United Provinces Historical society, Vol. XIII, Part I, 1940, 42.

2. Mahomad Kasim; Tarikh-i-Farishta; Vol.I, 241; Khwaza Nizam-ud-din; Tabaqat-i-Akbari; Vol.II, 79; Abdul Qadir Badaoni; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh; Vol.II, Eng. trans. by W. H.Lowe, Calcutta, 1884, 456.

3. Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics; Vol.12, P. 476. The evolution of the term Turani from Turk follows like this. The terms, Turk, Turkish, and Turkic are used in two different senses: to designate either those peoples belonging to Turkic Linguistic family or those people from Asia who appear from time to time in military history under leaders of Turkis speech. With the Advance of ethnological knowledge the former use is being abandoned for wider term Turanian and the latter practice is falling into disuse. The name of Turan is much wider than the term Turk and in any case is not synonymous with it.

Persian nobility at the death of Humayun played a very constructive role. All sections, irrespective of their being Persians or Turanis, Shias or Sunnis, made a oncerted effort for the quick succession of Akbar. The sole exception was Shah Abul Malli, a favourite of Humayun, who created some unpleasantness[1]. The rest applied their energies for keeping the Empie intact andused all measures offensive defensive or preventive, towards trend.

1.(a) To him (Shah Abul Mali), the deceased Emperor (Humayun) had shown a special favour and boundless condescension so that he had honoured him by calling him a son. Badaoni's; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh; Vol.II, 9.

The late king had a great partiality for him and this fostered his pride so that the presumptuous ideas got mastery over him and his conduct was marked by unseemly action Khwaja Nizamudin's; Tabqat-i-Akbari; Vol.II., 127.

(b) When Bairam Khan and other nobles performed the coronation ceremony of Akbar, Shah Abul Mali would not come .... Tabqat-i-Akbari; Vol.II, 126. Akbar also took the initiative against the seditious behaviour of Shah Abul Maali. It was on his command that Shah Abul Maali who struck a discordant note, was arrested. Dilating on Shah Maali's inpervious behaviour, Abul Fazl commented, " He was durnk and a mad dog bit him and scorpion stung him: More over, some old servants of the world, who from an evil nature looked no nothing but their own spite and did not in their folly and blindness distinguish right from wrong were the means of adding delusions and were ever pouring the drug of inconsideration into the wine of his arrogance." See Badaoni's; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh; Vol. II, 10. Abul Fazl's, Akbarnama; Vol.II, 15. Mahomed Kasim; Tarikh-i-Farishta; Vol.I, 244.

As already mention that Persians contributed immensely to the establishment and developments of the Mughal Empire during Akbar's reign. The nobles of the court kept the death of Humayun, a closely guarded secret. To desarm all suspicions Mulla Bakshi who resempled the Emperor in appearance was dressed in imperal robes and presented every morning in the royal gallery, where the Emperor went to sit to receive the homage of the populace[1]. They informed Akbar about the sad event and recited Khutba in his name under the leadership of Tardi Beg, the Commander of Delhi[2].

During the tenure of Akbar, few Persians, come to India from Shiraz, Mashhad, Turbat, Gilan, Qandhar and Hirat[3].

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1. Sidi Ali Reis; Vamberjs Travels and adventures; P. 56; Abulfazl, Akbarnama; Vol. I. 364-65.
2. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. I, 364.
3. Abul Fazl; Ain-i-Akbari; Vol.I. 364; Tarson Khan was S/o Shah Mohammad Sayful Mulk, an independent ruler of Gurjistan (a part of Khurasan) who had to submit to Shah Thamasp. Tarson Khan later entered Bairam Khan's service. Abul Fazl, Ain-in-Akbari; Vol. I 382 Sadiq Khan S/o Mohammand Baqir also served Bairam Khan before entering into Akbar's service. Mohammand Baqir had been vazir to Qara Khan Turkman ruler of Khurasan. Qara Khan rebelled against-Shah Tahmashp and fled to India. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari; Vol. I 468. Hakim Abul Fath and Hakim, Humam sons of Abdur Razak Sadr of Gilan. When Gilan came into the possession of Shah Tahmashp, Ahmad Khan ruler of the country was. imprisoned and Abdur Razak was tortured to death. Hakim Abul Fath and his distinguished brothers Hakim Humam, Hakin Nurudin left the country and arrived in 20th year of Akbar's reign in India.

Bairam Khan at the time of crisis when Humayun was removed before his empire was stablished and the prince was young and inexperienced, and all the territory except the Panjab had been lost. The command of the battle of Panipat was given to Khan-i-Zaman and Bairam Khan's own men. Sikander Khan Uzbeg, Abdullah Khan, Ali quli Andijan, Khan Muhamad Khan Jalair Badakshi, Majnoon Khan Qaqshal, Khan-i-zaman (commander in chief in the battle of Panipat) were supported by Bairam Khan's dependants Husain Quali Beg, Muhammad Sadiq Khan, Shah Quli Mahram, Mir Muhammad Qasim Khan Nishapuri, Sayyid Muhammad Barah[1]. The victory of Panipat 1556 A.D. put them back in occupation of Delhi and Agra. Thus second battle of panipat helped in the resurrection of loss of honour the Mughals had suffered in their first encounter against Hemu. When the Afghans were numerous and were raising the standard of empire, and in evey hook an dcornor, waiters upon events were beating the drum of opposition, and the Chaghatai officers who were not well affected towards staying in India were advising a departure to Kabul, and Mirza Sulaiman had seized his opportunity and recited the Khutba in his own name in Kabul; Bairam, by the sole influence of his courage, firmness, and excellent arrangements, made the stream which had left its course return to its channel, and reestablished the sovereignty, Akbar also by many favours and attentions entrusted the management of affairs[2] to him in order that he

1. Farishta; Tarikh-i-Farishta; P. 245.

   Haji Muhammad Khan, a Persian noble .stepped into the olffice from which Pir Muhammad, was removed. Hazi Muhammad was a close associate of Bairam Khan- See Tarikh-i-Farishta; Vol.II, 247.

   Nizum ud-din-Ahmad; Tabqat-i-Akbari; Vol. II, 140.

2. Iqtidar Alam Khan; The Mughal Court Politics during Bairam Khan's Regency; Indian History Congress, 1965, P. 154.

should carry out what he thought proper, and should not pay heed to any one else, and he without fear of censure. Even after his downfall he had no real intention of rebelling[1].

Another Persian noble Muzaffar Khan Turbati in 1575 A.D. was deputed to reduce the fort of Rohtas[2]. Finding himself unable to reduce the fort, he turned his attention to deal with Afghans around it[3]. His success against the Afghans excited jealousy among the agents of the commandant in the Earstern provinces. They compelled him to retreat to Sasseram which were not his regular jagirs. Thereafter he attained further succes. First Munim Khan (Turani) tried to cause hinderance in his way and finally became s jealous that he ordered him to vacate the area and leave for the capital. In face of the order from the Emperor that he was to leave eastern provinces if so desired by Munim Khan, Muzaffar Khan was non-plussed. However, Akbar appreciated the services rendered by him and allotted him Hajipur as jagir and thus saved him from the disgrace[4].

In 1573-74 A.D., Asaf Khan Ghiyas-ud-din-Ali[5], distinguished himself in Gujrat war and did good service in the battle with the rebels there who had besieged Mirza Koka

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1. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol II, 107.
2. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol III, 69.
3. A. Rahim, The position of the Afghans under the Mughals 1526-1605;. Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society, 1958, P. 126.
4. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. III, 136-42.
5. Bairam Khan, Munim Khan. Abdur Rahim Khan, earned the tilte of Khan-i-Khanan and Khwaja Abdul Majid Asaf Khan, Khawaja Ghiyas-ud-din, Mirza Jafar-Beg earned the title of Asaf Khan. See Abul Fazl; Ain-i-Akbari;,Vol. I, 330, 333, 355, 451.

in Ahmedabad[1]. In 1576 A.D. Asaf Khan went to Inder "to Idar this dependency of Gujrat of the rubbish of rebellion". This expedition was directed against zamindar Narain das. Rather, Asaf Khan, with the troops[2] of the wings, pressed forward and routed the armies. In 1578 A.D. Akbar sent him to Malwa and Gujrat, regarding introudction of the Dagh. He ws with the co-operation of Quliz Khan, the Governor, their to improve the condition of the troops[3].

Jaffar beg, a Persian noble with Muzaffar Turbati (1582 A.D.) supressed the rebellion of the Qaqshals and the turbulence of Masum Kabuli. Thigns went so far that Muzaffar came to the fort of Tanda and shut-himself up there. Jaffar Beg was with him. He by his cleverness escaped, and was totally successful in his mission. Akbar shortly after wards gave him the rank of 2000 and the title of Asaf Khan[4]. In 1587 A.D. Asaf khan suppress the rebellion when Ismail Quli Turkoman was censured for leaving the passes open so that Jalau-d-din Roshni got out, Asaf Khan was appointed to succeed him. In 1592 A.D., when Jalada Raushani who had gone to Abdullah the king of Turan had come back on successful and begun a disturbance in Tirah. Asaf khan was sent against him; and with the assistance of zayn Khankoka, defeated Jalala[5].

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1. Abul fAzl; Ain -i- Akbari; Vol.I, 459 ; Badaoni; Muntakhab-ut- Tawarikh; Vol. II, 173
2. Abul Fazl; Ain-i-Akbari; Vol.I, 478.
3. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. III, 264.
4. Shah Nawaz Khan; Maasir-ul-Umara; Vol. I, 283.
5. Elliot; History of India; Vol. V. 467; Badaoni; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh; Vol II. 388. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. III, 640.

There are few other Persian nobles who contributed immensely towards the expansion of the Mughal Empire during Akbar's reign. Qasim Muhammad Khan[1] was one of the great men of Nishapur. In the battle[2] against Sikander Khan Sur he rendered valuable services in the company of Bairam Khan. In 1556 A.D. of Emperor Akbar's reign in the battle against. Hemu, he was deputed to the van under Ali quli Khan zaman, and distinguished himself by his brave deeds[3]. In the same year he was appointed to Chastise Haji Khan- a slave of Sher Khan Afghan, who was distinguished for valour and prudence, and who after fighting with Rana Udai Singh of Mewar had taken possession of Ajmer and Nagor[4]. Haji Khan's men fled on hearing the approach of the royal troops, and haji Khan retiered to Gujarat.Qasim Muhammd Khan went ot Ajmer and set about the settlement of that area. In 1561 A.D. he in the company of Shams-ud-Din Muhammad Khan Atka was appointed to oppose Bairam Khan, and on the day of the battle he

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1. As Blochmann; Ain-i-Akbari; Vol.I, 379, has noted hte name should be Muhammad Qasim Khan, as he is styled in the Akbarnama, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh and Tabqat-i-Akbari.
2. Abul-Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. I, 631. Battle of Sirhind 22nd June 1555. Muhammad Qasim's name is not mentioned in connection with the battle, but earlier on, P. 625, it is stated that he was one of the officers whose exertions made it possible for the army cross River Sutlej.
3. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. II, 54
4. Ibid; 71-73.

the right wing[1]. After the battle was won, he was granted a fief in Multan. In 1565 A.D., Akbar resolved to put down Abdullah Khan Uzbeg[2] Abdullah Khan fled from Mandu, Akbar sent the Persian Commander Qasim Khan and some others to proceeed hurriedly and block his way. Qasim Khan made a rapid march and fell on Abdullah Khan's camp[3].

Another outstanding military leader Mir Murad Juwaini[4] was distinguished for his courage and bravery, and was regarded as a past master in archery. Akbar appointed him to train Prince Khurram. In 1602 A.D. in the reign of Akbar he died as Bakhsi of Lahore. Niyabat Khan[5] of Nishapur was Persian and in 1575 A.D[6], when he conquer the Suba of Bihar he was allowed a fief there, and appointed to accompany Khan Khanan, who was deputed to conquer Bengal, and rendered good service.

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1. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. II 168-170.
2. Shah Nawaj Khan; Maathir-ul-Umara; Vol I. 516.
3. Abul Faxl; Akbarnama; Vol. III; 350; Abdullah Khan and his son escaped, and Qasim Khan collecting all his bag and baggage waited there. The Emperor after reaching the place showed great favour and Kindness to Qasim Khan. Nothing further is known about him.
4. Juwain is a small town in Khurasan. Many good men have come from this place, for example Shaikh said-ud-Din Hamvi, Imam-ul-Harmain Abul Maali, and Khwaja Shams-ud-din Sahib Diwan. See ShahNawaj Khan; Maasir-ul-Umara; Vol I. 497; Abul Fazl; Ain-i-Akbari; Vol.I, 559-560.
5. His name was Arab; Maasir-ul-Umara; Vol. II, 392.
6. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. III, 134; where Arab's acting as his father Mir Hashim Khan's deputy and the grant of the title of Niyabat Khan are recorded.

He besieged Karra, which was in the fief of Ismail Quli Khan, and Killed Ilyas Khan Lankah, the latter's servant in battle. Consequently Ismail Quli Khan was deputed by the Emperor with an army to proceed against him[1].

Akbar sent Mir Muizz-ul-Mulk a Persian noble to Jaunpur in 1565-66 A.D. to punish Khanzaman who with his brother Bahadur Khan plundering and ravaging the area of Sarwar[2]. The rebels on the arrival of this strong detachment lost courage and restored to deception and negotiations[3]. Hakim Sadra of Shiraz migrated to India in 1602 A.D. He was famous for his skill in medicine[4]. Ali Quli Beg[5], at the recommendation of Khan Khanan enlisted in imperial service and when Prince Salim went to the expedition against the Rana; Ali Quli Beg was appointed to accompany him.

Shihab-ud-din Ahmad Khan, a Saiyid of Nishapur, who was distinguished by the Valuable services he rendered and the great influence he wielded in the state affairs. In 1556 A.D. in Emperor Akbar's reign he was the Governor of Delhi[6]. In 1567 A.D. he

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1. Shah Nawaj Khan; Maasir-ul-Umara; Vol. I, 393-94; Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. III, 511-512; Badaoni's; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh; Vol. III, 229-230.
2. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. II, 389.
3. Ibid; 389-91.
4. Shah Nawaj Khan; Maasir-ul-Umara; Vol. I, 663.
5. Emperor Akbar gave him in marriage Mihr-un-Nisa, the daghter of Ghiyas Beg of Tehran, who was serving as the Diwan-i-Biutat (Master of the Household) See Shah Nawaj Khan; Maasir-ul-Umara; Vol. I, 837.
6. Ibid; 846; Abul Fazl; Ain-i-Akbari; Vol. I, 352-353.

was sent from the fort of Gagrun to govern Malwa and to Chastise the rebellious Mirzas who had laid hold of that territory. These ungreatful persons losing heart without fighting retired to Gujarat. He was promoted to the rank of 5,000 and appointed commander-in-chief (Sipah salar) of Malwa[1].

Two Persian brothers Mirza Muzaffar Husain Safavi[2] and Mirza Rustam Safavi miagrated[3] to India during the reign of Akbar. In 1595 A.D. Akbar honoured the Mirza (Muzaffer Husain) by calling him Farzand (son) gave him the rank of 5,000 and assigned to him the terriroty of Sambhal, which was larger than Qanbdhar. However, the Mirza, who was ignorant of the world, and lacked comprehension, through sloth and neglecfulness, left the affiairs to varicious and oppressive servants. Repeatedly the peasants complained against the assessments, and some traders also sent petitions. Advice had no effect, and Muzaffar Husain getting annoyed prayed for leave to go on a pilgrimage to Hijaz[4].

In the year 1595 A.D., Sarkar of Chittor was given to the Mirza Rustam in fief, and he was sent off there. When in the year 1596 A.D., Raja Basu and some chiefs of the northern hills rebelled, Pathankot and its neighbourhood were included in the Mirza's fief, and he was sent to that territory[5]. Asaf Khan was sent to help him, but disagreement

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1. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. III, 242.
2. Mirza Rustam was a grand son of Shah Ismail Safavi of Persia. Abul Fazl; Ain-i-Akbari; Vol. I, 328.
3. Badaoni has given a good description of the reception Mirza Rustum received on way at the court. For details see Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh; Vol.II, 388.
4. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. III, 743.
5. Shah Nawaz Khan; Maasir-ul-Umara; Vol.I, 633.

started between him and the Mirza Raja Basu behaved insolently. The Emperor Akbar deputed Jagat Singh, son of Raja Man Singh and recalled the Mirza to the Presence[1].

Mirza Mirak Radavi[2] in 1581 A.D. when the rebellion of the fief holders of Bengal took place, and they assembled on the other side of the Ganges, he with Muzaffar Khan, the governor of Bengal, was on this side of the Ganges. When there was a talk of settlement he and Rai Patr das with one or two men were sent by Muzaffar Khan to counsel the rebels. Mirza Yusuf Khan Radavi[3], was the saiyids of Mashhad. In 1585 A.D. he was ordered to proceed to Oudh and to guard Bihar. In 1587 A.D. when Qasim Khan, the Governor of Kashmir becoming disgusted with the continual commotion there resigned, the Mirza was appointed to administer the country. Darbar Khan[4] received the rank of 700 and the title of Darbar Khan. In the 14th year, after the taking of Ranthambor, and when the Akbar had gone to Ajmere to visit the Muinu-d-din, Darbar Khan took leave on account of sickness and came to Agra. He died after arriving there. Abu-l-Fath[5] in 1576 A.D. entered into Akbar service. In 1586 A.D. Raja Birbal left to reinforce Zain K. Koka, who had been appointed to chastise.the title of the Yusufzai, Hakim was also made leader of seperate auxiliary force. However, they did not take account of one another and did not act with concord. The result of conceit and duplicity was that the Rajah was killed and that the Hakim and the Kokaltash escaped with great difficulty and presented themselves at court.

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1. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. III, 1060.
2. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. II, 421; Shah Nawaz Khan; Maasir-ul-Umara; Vol. I, 77.
3. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. III, 687, 798-99.
4. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. II, 339.
5. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. III, 144; Shah Nawaz Khan; Maasir-ul-Umara; Vol. I, 107.

Jahangir reposed greater, confidence in the Persians, and never missed an opportunitty of even honouring the recalcitrant Persians who were inclined to offer submission. Once Jahangir was convinced about their devotion and loyality, he never hesitated in utilising their military prowess in the imperial campaigns which were dircted against the rebels and towards the conquest of new regions[1]. Mutamad Khan Muhammad Sharif[2] a Persian came from an obscure family of Iran. In 1615 A.D. at the request of Shiv Ram Gaur, the son of Raja Bethal Das brother, was deputed to the territory of Dhandera. Mutamad Khan arrested Indarman the landlord of the place, and produced him in the court In 1620 A.D. Jahangir increase his rank to 1,500 with 500 horse. After the return from Kashmir he was sent to the Deccan with Prince Khurram as the Bakhshi of the army.

Sadiq Khan was a very important Persian noble. In (1623 A.D.) he was appointed the Governor of the Punjab[3], and deputed to annex the northern hill country. After accomplishing this work he joined the Emperor's entourage with his contingent, and having made Jagat Singh-who for some time had been behaving seditiously in the quarter (the northern hill country)- hopeful of royal favour, brought him to the Presence. Through the intercession of Nurjahan Begum Jagat Singh was forgiven[4]. Sadiq Khan, however,

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1. Nurudin Jahangir; Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri; Vol.I, translated Rogers and Beveridge's, Delhi, 1968, 208.
2. Mutamad Khan; Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri; edi. by Maulvi-Ahd-Al-Hali-, Calcutta, 1865, P. 176.
3. Nurudin Jahangir; Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri; Vol. I, 250; He is mentined as holding office of the Mir-Bakhshi in the 17th year. P. 222.
4. Ibid; P. 222.

used every Pretext for fining soldiers for absence, and so was resented by them[1]

In the beginning of the reign of Jahangir a Persian noble Sharif Khan was also powerful. He sometimes guided the emperor about another nobles. Once Sharif Khan Amir-ul-Umara represented that the Afghans were the enemies of the Mughals, and they should be expelled. Consequently, orders were sent to the different parts of the empire[2].

When a rapture took place between Emperor Jahangir and the Prince heirapparent, the Deputy Governership of Gujarat was assigned to 'Abdullah Khan. Ahdullah Khan on his behalf appointed an indifferent eunuch to defend the city of Ahmadabad. Nahir Khan, a Persian noble from Khandesh at the instigation and written requests of Mirza Safi Saif Khan—who at the time was the Diwan of Gujarat—came suddently from his fief to Ahmadabad, and with saif Khan took possession of the city. Abdullah Khan heard of it at Mandu, and hurriedly marched for giving battle. Nahir Khan, who commanded Saif Khan's vanguard, engaged him, and was successful. As a reward for this service the Emperor Jahangir granted him the rank of 3,000 with 2,500 horse and the title of Sherkhan[3].

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1. Irvine; Army of the Indian Mughals; Eurasia Publishing house, New Delhi, 1962, P. 25; Muhamaid Khan; Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri; P. 295; Devi Prashad's; History of Shahjahnama; trans, Raghubir Singh, Delhi, 1975, P. 58.
2. Mohammad Husain; Mughal Darbar; Vol. V, 117. Later on Azam Khan's opposition ot this scheme, the Emperor realised the impracticability of this scheme and withdrew these orders. Jahangir's; Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri; Vol.I, 82.
3. Jahangir's; Tuzuk- i-Jahangiri; Vol.II; 267, 268.

The powerful Persian noble during the reign of Jahangir was Mahabat Khan, who was son of Ghiyer Beg of Shiraz. In the beginning of Jahangir's reign he received the rank of 3,000[1] and was appointed to the expedition against the Rana. The expedition had not advanced very far, and he had onlyafter fixing up the posts (thanas) in the outer range of hills started to advance into the inner hills, when he was recalled to the court, and was ordered to accompany Prince Shahjahan to the Deccan. In 1617 A.D. he was appointed governor of Kabul on the transfer of Shah Beg Khan[2]. Owing, however, to the predominating position and influecne of Itimad-ud-Daula (Persian noble), who was not on good terms with him, he wanted to go from Kabul to Iraq. Consequently he received a cordial invitation by letter from Shah Abbas Safavi. However, Khanazad Khan Khanzaman managed cleverly to scare away his men and so had to give up the idea[3].

In the year 1622 A.D. Mahabat Khan was assigned a campaign against Prince Shahjahan. At the instigation of NurJahan Begam there was a disagreement between Jahangir and heir-apparent Prince Shah Jahan, and this resulted in an open war.

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1. Accoridng to Khafi Khan; Muntakhab-ut-Lubab; Vol. I, ed. K.D. Ahmad, Calcutta, 1864, 259 and Jahangir's; Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, P. 24; he received the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horses. Detailed chart of Mahabat Khan's offices was published in Banarasi Prasad; History of Jahangir; P. 195, note 25.
2. Shah Beg Khan, Khan Duran was transferred as the Governor of Thatha, and Mahabat Khan appointed to Kabul and Bangash. Jahangir's; Tuzuk-i- Jahanhgir; Vol. I, 397.
3. Shah Nawaj Khan; Maathir -ul-Umara; Vol.I, P. 11.

Mahabat Khan was summoned from Kabul. At first owing to his dislike of Begam he did not agree[1] but after beign reassured, he came to the presence, when Abdullah Khan deserted[2] the royal vanguard and joined Shahjahan;s forces, Jahangir in view of his distrust of Asaf Khan, the commander of the army, summoned him and Khwaja Abul Hasan to the presence. There was a great commotion in the camp, and Mahabat Khan divining the marks of the success of Shah Jahan (in the struggle) sent offers of loyalty to him through Abd-ur-Rahim Khan-Khanan. He also represented that if he was pardoned and his safety assured, he would render faithful service. At the moment his advice was that the Prince should recall his army and himself proceed to Mandu, where he would receive a grant (<u>Sanad</u>) restoring to him his former fiefs under Jahangirs seal. Later when Sultan Parviz arrived from Allahabad, Mahabat Khan with the help of other opportunitists made most of the occasion, and induced the king to march to Ajmer[3], amd to appoint Sultan Parviz under the guardianship of Mahabat Khan to the pursuit of the Prince. The latter went from Mandu to Burhanpur and from there resolved to proceed to Bengal through Telingana. Mahabat Khan in company with Sultan Parviz came to Burhanpur and addressed himself to the task of arranging the affairs of the Deccan.

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1. Mutmaid Khan; Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri; P. 195; Khafikhan; Muntakhab-ut-Lubab, Vol.I, 232, 233.

2. Mutmaid Khan's; Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri; P. 202; Beni Prashad; Hisory of Jahangir; P. 354; Banarsi Prashad; History of Shahjahan; P. 45.

3. Jahangir; Tuzuk-i-Jahagiri; Vol. II, 258; Mutamaid Khan's; Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri; P. 204.

Mahabat Khan in a short time through his exertions made the Deccan Princes join the circle of the loyal and devoted adherents of the kingdom[1]. Mahabat Khan become so powerful when the battle took place at Damdama in 1624 A.D. in which Mahabat Khan gave up an idea of an alliance with Malik Ambar, and Left Mulla Muhammad Lari (Prime Minister of Ambar) and Rao Ratan Hara also called Sarbuland Rai at Burhanpur, and himself started with Prince Parviz and reached the province of Allahabad[2]. The armies opposed each other for some days near Tons[3].

Like wise when Malik Ambar grew suspicious of the alliance of Adil Shah with the royal army and attacked the city of Bidar, plundered it and marched to Bijapur. Adil Shah wrote to Mahabat Khan, commander-in-chief, requesting that the royal troops should also help him on this occasion. Mahabat Khan, who was at Allahabad, instructed Sarbuland Rai to depute Lashkar Khan with Jadu Rai, udaji Ram and all the officer of Balaghat. Malik Ambar was left alone to deal with his enemy, and he was o bliged to

1. Shah Nawaz Khan; Maathir-ul-Umara; Vol. I, 12

2. MutmaidKhan; Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri; P.P. 223, 224.

3. Jahangir; Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri; Vol.II, 294-296; Mutmaid Khan; Iqbalnama-i- Jahangiri; P. 232-324. The battle took place at Damdama near the junction of the Tons and the Ganges in 1624 A.D. Prince Shahjahan on account of the small number of his troops did not consider it advisable to risk a pitched battle, but the exaggerations and importunities of Raja Bhim, who was one of the royal confidants, caused to happen what actually did happen. When the situation became critical Abdullah Khan Zakhmi (the wounded) seized Shah Jahan's reins (horse) and by urgent importunity led him away from the battlefield. See Cambridge History of India; Vol. IV, 173.

fight[1].

In this battle Mulla Muhammad was killed and jadu Rai and Udai Ram turned away without exerting themselves. Malik Ambar was victorious in this battle[2] Khan Jahan from Gujarat had been appointed in place of Mahabat Khan (governor of Bengal). Another order was issued that if Mahabat Khan was not willing to go to Bengal he should return to the court, and Khanazad Khan[3] who till then had been his deputy in Kabul, was recalled and sent to Bengal to take charge of the province.

Although Mahabat Khan contributed a lot towards the expansion of the Mughal empire. He sometimes also advise Jahangir if he saw any danger to the empire from Afghans or Turanis[4]. However, it's also true that once Mahabat Khan, for the first time in

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1. Battle of Bhaturi, see Shah Nawaj Khan; Maathir-ul-Umara; Text I, P. 140, trans Beveridge's, P. 269; Mutmaid Khan; Iqbal Nama-i-Jhahangiri; P. 236, 237. The battle is described but the name of the place is not given, it is only stated that it took place at a place 5 Kos from Ahmadnagar in 1624-25 A.D. As the battle took place in 1633 A.D., it must have taken place in the first half of the year. See Beni Prashad; History of Jahanngir; P. 382 gives an account of the battle but does not give its date.
2. Shah Nawaj Khan; Maathir-ul-Umara; Vol. I, 14.
3. The son and heir of Mahabat Khan. His name was Aman Ullah but he received the title of Khanzad Khan when he was appointed as his father's deputy in Kabul. Later in Shah Jahan's reign he received the title of Khan Zaman. Shah Nawaz Khan; Maathir-ul-Umara; Vol. I,212-219.
4. Shah Nawaz Khan; Maasir-ul-Umara; Vol. II, 600.

the history of nobility, rebelled[1] against the emperor ostensibly to maintain the dignity of the crown vis-a-vis the king who had damaged it by allowing others to the royal prerogative. Jahangir had allowed Nur Jahan to exercise many of the royal prerogatives[2].

Nodoubt, after the marriage of Nurjahan with Jahangir, who was Persian, played an imortant role in furthering the expansion of the Mughal Empire. However, it is also true that Mahabat Khan's act, who was also a Persian, was an effort to save the King from his queen, though he know that what he did was not in accordance with the king's dignity or wishes. Nurjahan's name was inscribed on the coins. She sat on the Jharoka to be seen by the subjects. Such a state of affairs was dangerous to the loyal and faithful subjects of the crown[3].

There were other Persian nobles also who contirbuted during the reign of Jahangir Fathullah[4], Asaf Khan, Mutamad Khan[5], Murza Safi[6], Mirza Abdul Kafi[7] and Itimad-ud-daulah Ghiyasbeg[8].

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1. Mutmad Khan's; Iqbal nama-i-Jahangiri; P. 252.
2. R.P. Khosla; Mughal Kingship and Nobility; Idarah-e-Adabiyat-i-Delli, Delhi, Reprint, 1976, P. 262-263.
3. U.N. Day; Mughal Nobility; MunshiRam Manohar Lal, Delhi, 1969, P. 195.
4. Mutmaid Khan; Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri; P. 28.
5. Jahangir; Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri; Vol. I, 300
6. Jahangir; Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri; Vol. II, 262.
7. Shah Nawaz Khan; Maathir-ul-Umara; Vol.I, 295-299.
8. In 1611 A.D. Jahangir married NurJahan, the daughter of Itimad-ud-Daula. See Jahangir; Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri; Vol. II, 222.

The marriage between Jahangir and Nurjahan, no doubt gave wazir Itimad-ud-daulah, an advantage which he fully utilized, but Itimad-ud-daulah did not owe his rise to the influence which Nurjahan exercised over the Emperor. After the death of Itimad-ud-daula in 1621 A.D., Jahangir summoned up his qulifications in the following words,

> "Though the weight of such a Kingdom was on his shoulders and it is not possible for or with in the power of mortal to make everyone countended, yet no one ever went to Itimad-ud-daula with a petition or on business who turned from him in an injured frame of mind. He showed loyalty to the sovereign, and yet left pleased and hopeful, him who was in need. Infact this was a specially of his"[1].

Persians contributed in the administration of the Mughal Empire rather than military expeditions. During the reign of Emperor Shahjahan there was enough scope for the Persian nobles to play a significant role in the battle fields. Soon after his accersion to the throne, Shahjahan, in pursuance of his father's policy towards the Persian, and specially rewarded those Persians who were associates during his princehood. For example Shahjahan honoured Mahabat Khan with the title of Siaphsalar[2], and later on Shahjahan sent Mahabat Khan from Gujarat towards Malwa to keep a close watch over Khan Jahan Lodis activities[3].

Mahàbat Khan, who contributed a lot during Jahangir's reign, towards the expansion of the Mughal Empire, played an important role in executing Mughal plans for

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1. Jahangir; Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri; Vol. II 222.
2. Shah Nawaz Khan; Maasir-ul-Umara; Vol. I, 799.
3. Inspite of all favours shown to the Afghans by Shahjahan, one of the most powerful and influential Afghan nobles of the Mughal court Khan Jahan Lodi, betrayed the confidence of the Emperor and rose in rebellion in the very beginning of his reign. Mutmaid Khan; Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri; P. 245; B.P. Saxena; History of Shahjahan; P. 67.

the conquest the fort of Daultabad in Shahjahan's reign Fateh Khan (of Ahmednagar), suspicious of the attitude of Murtaza Nizam Shah II, offered submission to the Mughals. However, he delayed payment of Peshkash. Thereafter in A.D. 1631 Shahjahan sent an Army to reduce the fort of Daultabad.

Meanwhile Shahji, the Maratha Chief, forged an alliance with Bijapur against Fateh Khan and made a bid to capture Daulatabad. Out of fear, Fateh Khan offered to surrender th fort to the Mughals. Mahabat Khan accompained by with Ahamd Khan Niyazi, Mubariz Khan, Nazr Aahadur Kheshgi, Jamal Khan (son of Dilwar Khan), Shukrullah (son of Mubariz Khan), moved to take charge of the fort. Enroute he strenghthened the strategic fort of zafarnagar by appointing Ahmad Khan Niyazi, Mubariz Khan and Nazr Bahadur Kheshgi, to assist Turk man Khan, the thanadar of the above mentioned fort[1]. Ahmad Khan Niyazi, who held the fort for sometime during the abosence of the thanadar, repelled all efforts made by the enemy to recover it[2]. Meanwhile, Fateh Khan being won over by the Marathas, weakend the Mughal position. Undaunted, Mahabat Khan and his associates pressed the seige vigorously and captured the fort in A.D. 1633[3].

Mahabat Khan also lead the Parenda Campaign in A.D. 1634 with Prince Shuja[4].

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1. Abdul Qadir Lahori; Badshahnama; Vol. I, Edi. by Maulvi Kabir Al Din Ahmad and Al Rahim in Superintendance of Major W.N. Lees, Calcutta, 1867-68, 505-6.
2. Ibid; P. 518.
3. Jamal Khan and shikrullah also accompanied the army. Jamal Khan was killed in 1632 A.D. by Mahabat Khan's men following an altercation between him at Mahabat Khan. Lahori; Badshshnama; Vol.I, 498.
4. Ibid; P. 35.

Mukhtar Khan, a Persian noble in 1637 A.D. in the reign of Shahjahan was granted the fief of Monghyr in the province of Patna which lies on the borders of Bengal. Abdullah Khan Firuz Jang, the Governor of the Province of Patna, with all auxiliaries of the area went to extirpate Pratap Ujjainiya, who was one of the refractory Zamindars there. Mukhtar Khan was in the vanguard of the army. When Bhojpur fort—which was the capital of that country, and where the refractory thief had entrenched himself—was taken after a sieze extending over six months, Pratap fortified his own residence, and with a view to escaping there from when opportunity offered, put up a stout defence. Mukhtar Khan, who was in the advance forces, set up his battery opposite the gate way, and made heroic efforts[1].

After the death of Mukhtar Khan, his son Mir Shams-ud-din in 1655 A.D. promoted to the post of the Superintendent of Artillery of the Deccan and in the Golconda campaign he accompanied the Prince Muhammad Aurangzed[2]. In 1658 A.D., when Ghalib Khan 'Adil Shahi made over the fort of Parenda, which was one of the well fortified forts of the Deccan, Mirshams- ud-din in accordance with the royal orders was appointed commandant of that strong fort[3].

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1. Lahori; Badshahnama; Vol.I 275.

2. Shah Nawaj Khan; Maathir-ul-Umara; Vol. III. 620-623.

3. Mohamad Kazim; Alamgirnama; Vol. I, ed by Khadim Husain, Calcutta, 1866, P. 47; Lahori; Badshahnama; Vol.I, 35.

Mulla Murshid, from Shiraz, was appointed to conquer the fort of Jhansi[1] — which was one of the strong forts of the unfortunate Jujhar—and to search for his burried treasures.

Abul Hasan[2], a Persian who served under Jahangir's reign also serve Shahjahans reign (1632 A.D.), he was sent off with a powerful army to Chastise Muhammad Adil shah of Bijapur he stretched chell forth his arm to bind and to beat, and Mustafa Khan, Muhammad A. Ahmin, the son in low of Mulla Muhammad, the uncle of Randaulah Khan, the Abyssinian, came out from the fort and made peace by tendering 40 lakhs of rupees Abul Hasan was obliged to leave Bijapur and to proceed to Rai Bagh and Mirach, which was cultivated countries, and to plunder everything[3]. He was made commander-in chief in 1635 A.D. Asalat Khan was another Persian who went to Chastise Adilshah, and to devastate the counry of Bijapur in 1630 A.D. In the next year 1631 A.D., he received the chief in rank of 1,500 with 500[4] horse and was made Bakhshi of the army which was

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1. Lahori; Badshahnama; Vol. I, 119., P. 121 is recorded his appointment with Bagi Khan to unearth the treasures of Jujhar in the Jungles of Datia. The treasures from Datia and Jhansi amounting to 28 lakhs of rupees were presented before the Empror by Makramat Khan and other offices, Ibid; P. 123.

2. He was the son of Itimad-ud-daulah and elder brother of Nur Jahan Begam. In the year 1611A.D. his daughter Mumtaz Mahal was the daughter's daughter of Mirza Ghiyas-d-din Asaf Khan; was married to Shah Jahan. In 1613 A.D.; he received the title of Asaf Khan. Jahangir; Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri; 56.

3. Lahori; Badshahnama; Vol. I, 416.

4. Lahori; Bahdshahnama; Vol. I, Part 2, 67; says 800. It also says he was made Bakhshi of the ahadis.

setting out with Shah Shuja for the conquest of Parenda. In 1642 A.D. when Jagta[1] the Zamindar of Mau became ungreatful and raised a presumptuous head, three armies, composed of 30,000 horse, were sent against him, and one of these was commanded by Asalat Khan. The Khan sent about besieging Nurpur, and every day the besieged were more and more hard pressed. When the fort of Mau, which was Jagta's chief reliance, was taken the garrison of Nurpur fled at midnight, and that place was easily conquered. Afterwards Asalat Khan went with other chiefs to take Taragarha. this too was accomplished[2]. In 1645 A.D., Asalat Khan and several mansabdars and ahadis were sent off to Kabul in order that they might recruit active men from the tribes in Kabul and in the passes (of Badakhshan). After Asalat had done these things he, in 1646 A.D., went from Ghorband in company with Ali Mardan Khan Amir-ul-Umara to make an attempt on Badakhshan, when they came to Gulbihar[3] it appeared that the road was exceedingly difficult, and that provisions were unprocurable. With the approval of the Amir-ul-Umara, Ali Mardan Khan, Asalat Khan went off rapidly with 10,000 horse and eight days provisions in order to attach Khinjan[4] and Andarab.

1. This seems an abridgment of the name Jagat Singh. See Lahori; Badshahnama; Vol. II, 261. The Mau here mentioned is a hill state, and Nurpur was one of its towns. The expedition belongs ot the 15th year (1642 A.D.)
2. Lahori; Badshahnama; Vol.I, Part II, 385.
3. Gulbihar, a well known place north of Kabul. Ibid; 462.
4. Khinjan and Andarab are in the north of Afghanistan towards Berdakshan. Ibid; 463

He crossed the Hindu Koh[1] and arrived at Anadarab and captured numerous quadrupeds and other goods of the inhabitants. He then took with him the retainers[2] of Ali Danishmandi and of the summer quarters of Karmaki, together with the Khwajazads of Ismail Atai and Maududi, and Qasim Beg, Mir of the Hazaris of Andarab, and returned with equal rapidity.

In 1646 Ali Mardan Khan (Persian) Amir-ul-Umara, Prince Murad Bakhsh and others with 50,000 horse were appointed to take Balkh and Badakhshan and to chastise the Uzbegs and Alamanan. In 1647, Prince Aurangzeb was given the government of Balkh and Badakhshan and was sent there. The Amir-ul-Umara[3] also went with the Prince when they came to Balkh it appeared that Abdul Aziz, the eldest son of Naza

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1. Lahori; Badshahnama; Vol. I, part II, 462. The text has only az Hind. Guzasthan "crossed from India", " but of course Asalat was then in Afghanistan and a long way out of India. The true reading is HinduKoh, as appears from the Badshahnama II, which is the original of the passage before us. There we have az Kotal Hindu Koh guzastha, "having crossed the defiles of the Hindu Koh". Khafi Khan; Muntakhab-ul-Lubab; Vol. I, 614.

2. The work in text is ahsham. Ali danishmandi is, the name of a place or tribe. The text has ایلاق کرمکی 'iyilaq Karmaki'. The first word 'ailaq' "summer-quarters". Karmaki may be Komaki, "militia". Perhaps they are all names of places a apparently one obejct of Asalat Khan's raid was to bring back some leaders of the tribes. See Khafi Khan; Muntakhab-ul-Lubab; Vol. I, 614.

3. The Shah Abbas I gave Ali Mavdan K. the title of Khan and made him governor of Qandahar in 1625 A.D. In the 16th year he received the little of Amir-ul-umara in Shahjahan's reign. Shah Nawaz Khan; Maathir-ul-Umara, Vol. I, 186, 188.

Muhammad and who was the governor of Bokhara, had proceeded from qarshi to the oxus and had sent in front of himself the army of Turan under Beg Qghli[1]. The Prince went off in that direction without entering Balkh[2]. A battle took place in Timurabad[3] and the Amir-ul-Umara defeated his opponent and came to the quarters of Qutluq Muhammad Sultan-which was far from those of Oghli. Amir-ul-Umara's men plundered. the tents and goods and animals of Qutluq and returned safe and loaded with plunder. Next day Beg Qghli attacked the Amir-ul-Umara with the whole force[4]. He stood firm, and the Prince (Aurangzeb) himself came to his assistance. A number of the Uzbeg leaders were killed and the others fled. Yadgar Tukriya attacked the Amir-ul-Umara with a strong force and nearly made his way to him. The Amir-ul-Umara seeing this drew his sword from the scabbard and spurred his horse. Others also joined him. At last Yadgar was wounded in the face by a sword and his horse was wounded[5] by a bullet, and they fell, and he was captured by the Amir-ul-Umara's servants.

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1. Lahori; Badshahnama; Vol. I, Part-II, 688.
2. He came to Balkh but did not enter the city. See Shah Nawaz Khan; Maathir-ul-Umara; Vol I; 191.
3. Timurabad, one Kos from Fathabad. Lahori; Badshahnama, Vol. I, Part-II, 688.
4. Lahori; Badshahnama; Vol. I, Part II, 697.
5. Khafi Khan; Muntakhab-ul-Lubab; Vol.I, 667, where he is called Yadgar Beg. According to Khafi Khan it was Ali Mardan who wounded him, Lahori; Badhshnama; Vol. I, Part II, 698, Yadgar was pardoned.

No doubt, Ali Mardan Khan a Persian contributed immensely to the Mughal Empire but it was he only who treacherously surrendered Qandhar. One of the main reasons for the failure of Qandhar expeditions for its reduction which was attempted thrice during the reign of Shahjahan was the lack of co-operation among the Persian contingent and officers who had a secret sympathy with the Shah of Persia[1].

Bernier writes about the first seige of Qandahar.

> "The first failure was owing to the bad conduct or perfidy of the Persian Omrahs in the Great Mughal's service, the most powerful noblemen of his court, and strongly attached to their native country. They betrayed a shameful luke warness, during the sieze refusing to follow the Raja Roup who had already planted his standard on the wall nearest the mountains"[2].

Qandhar was surrendered by Ali Mardan Khan because he had many enemies at the Persian court and was afraid to go there to render an account of his administration. Ali Mardan Khan the governor of Qandhar was not on good terms with the Persian court, as Saru Taqi, the Persian Minister had demanded from him a statement of account of the income and expenditure of his governorship and sent troops to ensure compliance. To evade this, Ali Mardan Khan itrigued with the Mughal Officers in Kabul and offered to surrender Qandhar[3].

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1. Bernier; <u>Bernier's Travels in the Mughal Empire;</u> trans, by Archibald contable, New Delhi, 1968,P. 146-153.
2. Bernier; <u>Bernier's Travels;</u> P. 184-185.
3. Bernier; <u>Bernier Travels;</u> P. 210; Inayat Khan; <u>Shahjahannama;</u> ed. and completed by W.E. Begley and Z.A. Desai, Delhi, 1968, P. 105.

There were some other Persian nobles who contributed to some extend towards the Empire. Saadat Khan[1] in 1649 A.D.; he was appointed to the contingent, which accompained Prince Aurangzeb for the conquest of Qandhar. In accordance with the instructions of the fort of Maru in the province of Qandhar, and himself with a strong force remained in Qara Bagh to guard the roads. Another Persian noble was Asalat Khan Mirza Muhammad[2]. In 1652 A.D. he was made faujdar of Mandu and when Prince Aurangzeb was ordered to devastate the territory of Adil Shah, the Mirza was appointed to go with him[3].

Mir Jumla was one of the ablest Persians who have ever served in India. Like his predecessors Aurangzeb too had realized the importance of the Persians as an effective fighting force. He, as a Prince, seems to have made an attempt to win over the loyalties of the Persians. At Prince Aurangzeb's recommendation Shah Jahan enrolled Mir Jumla[4],

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1. He was the son of Zafar Kahn Shah Nawaz Khan; Maathir-ul-Umara; Vol. I, 755, 756.
2. Son of Mirza Badia of Mashhad. The Mirza came to India in the 19th year and entered the service of Shah Jahan. See Shah Nawaz Khan's; Maathir -ul-Umara; Vol.I, 299.
3. Ibid; P. 299.
4. "Mir Jumla was by birth a Persian" see Lanepoole; Aurangzeb; S.Chand and co., New Delhi, 1971, P. 147. Mir Jumla participated actively in the war of succersion on Aurangzeb's side, who found an admirable and brilliant lieutenant in Mir Jumla. " Mir Jumla also considered himself an expert in the art of war .....". See Avees Jahan Syed, Aurangzeb in Muntakhab-al-Lubab; somaiya Publications, Bombay, 1977, P. 115. Laiq Ahmad; Prime Ministers of Aurangzeb; P. 92.

'a Persian among his officers and threw the mantle of imperial protection over him[1].

Aurangzeb's victory did not affect the position of the Persians in any way. The greater of his foreign nobility consisted of Persians[2] and the Persians occupied the highest posts in the Mughal Empire[3]. The Persians maintained their position partly because of the influx of Persians serving in the Deccan Kingdom. Here the Persians had long been dominant[4]. Aurangzeb is also said to have entertained great confidence in officers from Khawaf, a province of Persia, who became recipients of considerable favours during his reign[5].

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1. Jadhunath Sarkar; Studies in Mughal India; M.C. Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta 1919, P. 37.

2. Bernier; Travels in the Mughal Empire; P. 3.

3. This statement can be proved by statistics out of 486 mansabdars in 1658-78, 136 were Persians, quite dwarfing the Turanis, who numbered 67. In 1679-1707, their number still remained high - 126 out of total of 575. On the top rung of the Ladder, 23 Persians held the rank of 5,000 and above in 1658-78 and14 in 1679-1707, while the number of Turanis was 9 and 6 respectively. See Tavernier; Travels in India (1640-47), Vol. II, trans V. Ball, London, 1889, P. 138.

4. Tavernier; Travels in India; Vol. II, 138. Mir Jumla provides an example of a Persian noble entering Mughal service through the Deccan.

5. Khafi Khan; Muntakhab-ul-Lubab; Vol. II, P. 72; who says in an interesting passage:

"Owing to Shaikh Mir's sacrificing hi slife in the service of the Emperor, the Emperor a (great) patron of khanazads- began to bestow great favour on all men of Khawaf. So much so that during aurangzeb's reign, the people of Khawaf which is the least regarded of all parts of Khurasan, came into prominence and obtained promotions, never seen in the histories of previous rulers. In fact, although the people of Khawaf are in appearance rough and rude as compared to the other people of Khurasan, most of the other people of Khurasan, most of them are efficient and upright in the discharge of their duties. In justifying loyalty to their salt they can be counted among the steadfast one's (in the empre)".

Nor was the position of the Persians affected by the Sunni orthodoxy of the Emepror[1]. Though he once refused to make an appointment to the office of Bakhshi which was suggested to him on the ground that the exisitng incumbent was a Shiraz[2].

Aurangzeb also married a Persian lady, Dilras Banu, the daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan Safavi, (5th May, 1637)[3]. Persians contributed not much less in Aurangazeb's reign towards the expansion of the Mughal empire, than during his predecessors. Mir Jumla in 1661 A.D. annexed Palamu in Bihar and also occupied Kuch Bihar. In 1662-63 A.D. came Mir Jumla's famous invasion of Assam. In 1663 A.D. the state of Navanagar in Gujarat was annexed[4]. In 1660 A.D. Shaista Khan a Persian noble, opened a great campaign in Maharashtra[5]. In 1660 A.D. He was proceeded to put down Shivaji and to capture his forts. Shaista Khan marched out from Aurangabad, and suitablty punished the Marathas wherever they offered battle, and established thanas in suitably localities in Shivaji's territories. This was the beginning of the Maratha affair[6]. In 15th August 1660 A.D. he captured the fort of Chakan. By the Emperor's orders the fort was renamed

1. Laiq Ahmad; Prime Ministers of Aurangzeb; P. 10.
2. Athar Ali; The Mughal Nobility under Auranzeb; P. 20.
3. Jadunath Sarkar; Studies in Mughal India; P. 34.
4. Jagdish Naryan Sarkar; History of Mir Jumla; M.C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta, 1951, P. 155-156.
5. Muhammad Kazim; Alamgirnama; Vol. II, 98.
6. Shah Nawaj Khan; Maathir-ul Umara; Vol. I, 832.

Isalmabad[1] later on he was appointed to adminster[2] Bengal where Mir Jumla had just died. As the turbulent men of Arracan— who are generally designated as the Magh tribe— had meanwhile, siezing the opportunity invaded the bordrs of Bengal, and had taken away as prisoners the inhabitants of some villages, Shaista Khan decided that the only way of checking their activities was to capture the fort of chittagong— which is on the border of Arracan. He despatched his son Buzurg Umed Khan (Persian) with a force, and he after much fighting captured the strong fort of chittagong in 1666 A.D.[3].

There were other Persian nobles who also fought battles. Wazir Khan Muhammad Tahir Khurasani in 1665 A.D. was deputed in attendance with the Prince Muhammad Muazzam from Agra. He was also reappointed independently Governor of Khandesh[4]. Amir Khan Mir Miram[5] another Persian noble, in 1670 A.D. was appointed on expedition

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1. Muhammad Kazim; Alamgirnama; Vol. III, 585-587. Saqi Mustaid; Maathir-i-Alamgiri; trans, J.N. Sarkar, R.A.S.B., Calcutta, 1947, P. 33. The orders in regard to the change of name of the fort ase not mentioned in any of the two works.

2. Muhamad Kazim; Alamgirnama; Vol. II, 842. Saqi Mustaid; Maathir-i- Alamgiri; P. 45.

3. Jamshid; Ruqqat-i-Alamgiri; 223-26. Saqi Mustaid, Maathir-i-Alangiri, P. 54, Jadunath Sarkar; Studies in Mughal India; P. 148.

4. Mohamad Kazim; Alamgirnama; Vol. II, 819.

He was the son of Khalilullah K. of Yezd. His mother Hamida Banu Began was the daughter of Saif Khan and the daughter's daughter of Yemenu-d-daula Asaf Khan. Shah Nawaj Khan; Maathir-ul-Umara; vol. I, 246.

to chastise the insolent Yusufzai. He went with a force to the neighbourhood of Shahbazgarha, which is near Longarkot, and he plundered the villages of the Yusufzai, and then he came to the plain[1] (fazai) of (inside of) Koh Kara Mar, and set fire to some other villages. In 1679 A.D. he received charge of the government of Bihar[2]. There he exerted himself in chastising 'Alam, Ismail and other Afghans of Shahjahanpur and Kant Golah, and seized them when they had taken refuge in a fort. In 1679 A.D. he came to court and joined the expedition of Shah Alam Bahadur to Kabul.

In 1682 A.D. when Aurangzeb arrived at Ajmer to confiscate the territories of Maharaja jaswant Singh who had recently died in 1678 A.D., Tahawwur Khan[3] (Persian) was appointed Faujdar of Ajmer. One of the confidential servants of the Maharaja rebel at Jodhpur, and attacked Tahawwur Khan. For three days they fought. At last Tahawwur

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1. The passage is taken from, Kazim; Alamgirnama; Vol. II, 1059, The Koh Kara Mar seems to be the Black Mountain of the expedition of 1868 and to be near Abbotabad.
2. Kant Golah and Shahjahanpur were not in Bihar but in Rohil Kand. Amir Khan's report about these is mentioned at Saqi Mustaid; Maasir-i-Alamgiri; P. 146, and his coming from Bihar is mentioned later on P. 148. For Kant Golah and Shahjanpur. See Elliot; Supplementary Glossary; Vol. II, 167. Perhaps, however, the Afghans had fled from Rohil Kand to Bihar and Bengal and been there seized by Amir Khan; for it is mentioned that he sent them in with Ibrahim Khan who was coming from Bengal to court.
3. He was an accomplished military officer. He was the son-in-low of 'Inayat Khan Kawafi. He too was a Khawafi Shah Nawaz Khan; Maasir-ul-umara; Vol. I, 464.

Khan beat the drum of victory[1]. He was also deputed in 1683 A.D. to attack to Mandal[2] and other Parganas of the Rana. The Empror himself also proceed in that direction to chastise the wicked Person. When Tahawwur Khan was encamped at manda, he was honoured by the grant of the Padshah Quli Khan[3]. Later, he was deputed in company with Prince Muhammad Akbar to Saojut and Jaitaran[4] for Chastising the Rathor Rajputs.

Rub-ullah Khan, another Persian noble was deputed to chastise the rebels of Bijapur in 1688 A.D., whom Prince Muhmmad Azam Shah was besieging. Later, when the siege of Galconda was protracted, Ruh-ullah Khan, on accordance with the orders of summons, arrived, was appointed to take steps for reducing the fort. In 1691 A.D. he

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1. The battle in front of the temple of Boar near the Sacred lake of Pushkar, according to Jadunath Sarkar; History of Aurangzeb; Vol. III, 335 ended on 30th August, 1679. In a footnote it is added that, according to Raj-vilas, the battle took place on 28th August and ended in a complete rout of the Mughal army. Har Bilas Sarda in his Ajmer : Historical and Descriptive; 1941, P. 169, gives the dates as 19-21st August, apparently according to the old style and also says that "Tahawar Khan fled, and his army was destroyed".
2. Mandal in the Sarkar of Chittor. Mandal had a brick fort. Shah Nawaz Khan; Maasir-ul- umara; Vol. I, 456.
3. Saqi Mustaid; Maasir-i-Alamgiri; P. 188.
4. Sojat and Jaitaran in Sarkar Jodhpur, both with forts on hills. Ibid; P. 194.

took the fort of Raichur from the infidels[1]. His son Khanzad khan also rendered good service when he conquer the forts of Satara and Parli[2].

In the case of Golconda, the Persian nobles were suspected of sympathising with Qutb Shah on account of their Shii'te beliefs. It was alleged that the Persian nobles at the Mughal court were not pressing the sieze of Golconda vigorously[3]. However opposition to the distribution of Golconda was not confined to the Persians alone. Aurangzeb asked his chief Qazi, Shaikhul Islam for his opinion about the war against Golconda and Bijapur. The Qazi refused to attribute to it the character of Jihad; he was consequently asked to go to Haj[4]. Qazi Abdullah, who was appointed in place of Shaikhul Islam, remarked one day that it would be better to conclude a treaty with Golconda as it would avoid the unnecessary blooshed of Muslims; Aurangzeb got annoyed and Qazi Abdullah was ordered not to come to the court and to confine himself to his judicial duties.

Muhammad Ismail[5], a Persian noble had a long record of military service in the Deccan and was certainly his leading general. In 1690 A.D. the title of Zulfiqar Khan was conferred upon Raigarh and imprisoning Yasoo Bai, Sambhaji's widow, and her son Shivaji, after wards known by the name of Shahu[6].In 1691 A.D. when Zulfiqar Khan was

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1. Jamshid; Ruqqat-i-Alamgiri; P. 120
2. Shah Nawaj Khan; Maasir-ul-umara; Vol.I, 617.
3. Bernier; Travels in the Mughal Empire; P. 211. Nimat Khan Ali through his statrical account of the siege of Golconda leaves us in no doubt where his sympathies lay.
4. Athar Ali; The Mughal nobility under Aurangzeb; P. 105.
5. Jamshid; Ruqqat-i- Alamgiri; 153.
6. Shah Nawaz Khan; Maasir-ul-Umara; Vol. II, Part 2, 1033.

besieging Jinji, the Decaani nobles accompanying him deserted to Rajaram[1]. His interest in the Deccan was revealed by his estreme reluctance to accmpanying Prince Azam to the north after Aurangzeb's death[2].

Asad Khan and Zulfiqar Khan believed---- or gradually came to believe---- in the necessity of placating the Marathas and saving Mughal authority in the Deccan through settlement with them. In 1698 A.D. Zulfiqar Khan captured Jinji but Rajaram escaped --- or was allowed to escape[3]. Only a year earlier Zulfiqar had forwarded a proposal from Rajaram for a settlement to Aurangzeb but Aurangzeb was not prepared to entertain it[4]. In 1705 A.D. when Aurangzeb was hard pressed at Wakin kera, Zulfiqar Khan was summoned along with his officers. The arrival of Zulfiqar Khan changed the situation and the fort fell after a short time. Aurangzeb, however suspected that it was due to Zulfiqar Khan and Rào Dalpat's intrigues that the Maratha forces escaped unhurt[5]. Later on when Aurangzeb wanted to sow dissension among the Marathas, he handed over Shahu to Zulfiqar Khan to enable him to negotiate with the Maratha Sardars. Zulfiqar Khan wrote conciliatory letters to the Maratha Sardars[6] and asked them to join Shahu, but there was

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1. Bhim Sen; Nuskha-i-Dilkusha; trans by J.N. Sarkar, Bombay, 1972, fl22a-b.

2. Ibid; f153a.

3. This aroused Aurangzeb's displeasure. Mustaid Khan; Maasir-i-Alamgiri; P. 391-2. Satish Chandra; Parties and Politics at the Mughal court; People's Publishing house, A.M.U., 1959, P. 54. Khafi Khan; Muntakhab-ut-Lubab; vide Elliot and dowson, Vol. II, 408.

4. Bhimsen; Nuskha-i-Dilkusha; f 98a.

5. Ibid; f 154 b.

6. Mustaid Khan; Maasir-i-Alamgiri; P. 511.

not positive response on their part[1]. Zulfiqar Khan's attempt at placting the Marthas was also nofed by a French observer, Francois Martin, who thought that he was seeking to strengthen himself by this alliance[2].

Before we continue with Zulfiqar Khan's and other Persian nobles role during the period of later Mughals. I would like to mention few other Persian nobles who contributed towards the expansion of the Mughal Empire during the reign of Aurangzeb.

They were Qasim Khan Karmani[3] who in 1695-96 A.D. received royal orders that he should march with Khanazad Khan and other imperial officers who had arrived in that area for chastising Santa Maratha, who had been devasting the royal territories[4]. Saf Shikan Khan Mir Sadir-ud-din came from Persia in 1677 A.D.. In 1690 A.D., he received[5] the gift of drums, and went with Firuz Jang for the taking of the fort of Ibrahimgarh in the province of Haidarabad. In the siege of Golconda he erected a lofly battery, and brought it close to the battlements. He palced 90 cannons on it, but owing to a disagreement with Firuz Jang he withdrew from the work and resigned[6]. In 1699 A.D.

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1. Mustaid Khan; Massir-i-Alamgiri; P. 515.
2. Francois Martin; Memoirs translated as India in the 17th century : social, Economic and Political 1670-94 by Latika Varadarjan Manohar Publications, New Delhi, 1985, Vol. II, PartI, 295.
3. He was an Iranian. Shah Nawaz Khan; Maasir-ul-Umara; Vol.I, 505.
4. Mustaid Khan; Maathir-i- Alamgiri; P. 375-378.
5. Ibid; P. 280, 284.
6. Ibid; P. 290.

he went[1] with Khanazad Khan to chastise Santaji Ghorpare. Qwam-ud-din Khan was the brother of Khalifa Sultan the famous grand Vazir of Persia[2]. Qawam-ud-Din Khan regarded himself as one of the premier men of Persia in regard to lineage and ability was able to size up the exact position of the Qadi immediately after his arrival in Lahore.

Persians power increased during the reign of Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb was quite apprehensive of the growing influence of the Persians and at the end of his reign the Persians were still the most powerful consisting 50 percent of the strength of the nobility. Towards the end of Aurangzeb's reign they created disturbance and when the Mughal Empire was declining they not only emerged very powerful but also tended to become independent. After the reign of Aurangzeb, the contributions of the Persian nobility so far as the expansion of the Mughal Empire is concerned; came to an end. The balance in the 1707-1739 A.D. period, tilted in favour of their role in the political maneovering court politics and finally their role during the invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739 A.D.

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1. Mustaid Khan; Maathir-i-Alamgiri; P. 375. The name of the Maratha General is given as Baswant.
2. Shah Nawaz Khan; Maathir-ul-umara; Vol. I, 516.

CHAPTER 3

Administrative Set up : Contribution of the Persian Nobility in the consolidation of the Mughal empire

Persian Nobility contributed towards the consolidation of the Mughal Empire through their tremendous contirbution in the administrative set up of the Mughals. Mughals conferred on them deserved positions of power and prestige. The most influential and powerful nobles who made their mark from 1526 A.D. till the invasion of Nadir Shah (1739 A.D.) included Bairam Khan (Atalaq/Diwan) with unlimited powers[1], Asaf Khan (wazir), Itimad-ud-daula (Diwan-Wazir), Ali Mardan Khan (commander-in-chief), Mir Jumla (Mir-Bakhshi), Zulfiqar Khan, (Wazir, viceroy of Deccan)[2] etc.

Persian, who were usually men of high calibre, merit and accumen were appointed as the Finance Ministers, during the reigns of Babar, Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir, ShahJahan and Aurangzeb with few exceptions. In most of the cases, the office of the chief Diwan/wazir was held by the Persians. P. S. Bedi in his study on the nobility under Akbar has pointed out that "though Irani nobles fought in rumerous battles for the sake of the Empire, their forte was the finance department with few exceptions the office of wazir always devolved upon them[3]". Qasim Khan Nishapuri, Haider Quli Beg Shamlu, Shah Abdul Mali of Humayun's reign were all Persians. To begin with Bairam Khan himself was a Persian[4]. His fall under mined the Persian influence but only temporarily

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1. P.S. Bedi; The Mughal Nobility under Akbar; P. 58.
2. Satish Chandra; Parties and& Politics at the Mughal court; 1707-1740, P. 61.
3. P.S. Bedi; The Mughal Nobility under Akbar; P. 18.
4. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. II, 182.

This is evident by the elevation of Asaf khan, Muzaffar Khan, Shah Mansur, Mir Fathullah Shiraji, Shams-ud- din Khawafi and Asaf Khan III, each to the exalted office of the Chief Diwan.

Itimad-ud–daula of Jahangir's reign, Iradat Khan, Afzal Khan, Islam Khan, Sadullah Khan , Muazzam Khan , and Jafar Khan of Shah Jahan's reign were all Persians, keeping in view the inherent talent possessed by them , their elevation to such high office and also bears witness to the element of liberalism present in the Mughal Policy. Aurangzeb may have been a religious bigot, but he did not let his religious feelings.influence the entire state of affairs. This is revealed and also confirmed by his choice of Wazirs who were all Persians and hence Shias[1]. During the period of Later Mughals the powerful Persian nobles at the Mughal court were Zulfiqar Khan, Asad Khan, Saadat Khan Burhan-ul-Mulk[2].

Down the ages, history has universally proved the fact that, no ruler, howsoever, diligent, can discharge single handed, the multifarious functions of the administration[3]. Even the most despotic rulers of the world feel the necessity of an administrative machinery composed of several well-accomplished persons to whom he can safely trust

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1. Laiq Ahmad; Prime Ministers of Aurangzeb; P. 148. Jadunath Sarkar, A short History of Aurangzeb 1618-1707; M.C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta, 1954, P. 434.
2. Satish Chandra; Party and Politics at the Mughal Court; P. 43.
3. Ibn Khaldun; The Muqaddimah, An Introduction to History; Vol. II, translated from the Arabic by Franz Resenthal, Routledge & Kegan paul, London, 1958, 3.

his commissions. An old proverb says, "The bravest of men require arms and the wisest of kings require Ministers"[1]. The persons from whom the ruler seeks help may assist him with the sword, or with the pen or with advice and knowledge. However, the ministers placed in charge of various departments did not in any way check the ruler's authority, rather they carried out their respective duties according to the former's orders. Hence in all the ages, the value of deliberation and counsel was fully understood[2].

The Prohpet Muhammad used to say, "if God means well with the amir, the provides for him a trustworth assistant to remind him whenever he forgets, and to help him whenever, he rememberrs. And if (God) does not mean it well with him, he provides for him an evil assistant, who does not remind him whenever he remembers"[3].

During the Mughal Period the number of ministers, who shared the duties and responsibilities of the state was maintained at four[4], besides the Vazir, these four

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1. Nihayat-ul-arab fi funan-i'l-adab selected by Shihab-ud--din Ahmad bin Adb-ul-Wahhab a'n-Nuwairi, Cairo, 1926, P. 92, vide I.H. Qureshi; The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi; Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, New Delhi, 1971, P. 76.
2. I.H. Qureshi; The Administration of the Sultanak of Delhi; P. 76.
3. Muhammad Asad, The Principles of state and Government in Islam, university of California Press, Berkeley, 1961, P. 62.
4. I.H. Qureshi, The Administration of Mughal Empire, P. 71.Sri Ram Sharma, Mughal government and Adminstration, P. 42. Jadunath Sarkar, Mughal Administration , P. 33.

ministers, also known as the four pillars of the state were, the Chief Diwan or Finance Minister, Mir Bakhshi or the head of the Military Department, the Mir Saman, was the Chief Executive officer incharge of the state factories and stores, and finally the Chief Sadr, who headed the ecclesiastical and the judicial departments.

Infact the very office of Vazir was adapted from the monarchical Persia in the period of Abbasid Khalifas in Arabia, despite their originally democratic setup as per Islamic ideas[1]. This office of Vazir was brought to India by the Turks and continued by the Mughals in Islamic government. Khalid bin Barmak, was the first incumbent of that office. Early under the Abbasid regime Khalid rose to the headship of the department of finance (Diwan-I-Kharaj). In 765A.D. he received the governorship of Tabaristam where he crushed a dangerous uprising. In this old age he distinguished himself at the capture of a Byzantine fortress, this official of Persian origin seems to have acted on various occasions a counseller for the caliph and became the founder of an illustrious family of Wazirs. To Khalid's son Yahya-al-Mansur's successor, Al-Mahdi (775-85A.D.) entrusted the education of his son Harun, when Harun following the brief reign of his brother Al-Hadi (785-86 A.D.) became Caliph he appointed the Barmakid whom he still respectfully called father as wazir with unrestricted power. Yahya who died in 805 A.D. and his two sons Al-Fadl and Jaffar practically ruled the empire from 786 –803 A.D[2].

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1. R P. Tripathi, Some Aspects of Muslim Administration, P. 161.

2. Phillip K. Hitti, History of the Arabs, Macmillan, Co. Ltd., London, 1956, P. 244.

While fighting the Afghans and Rajputs Babar was not oblivious of the necessity of consolidating his possessions and positions[1]. Kabul period of his life, Babar realised the necessity of strong and highly centralized system of administration with a view of maintaining control over nobles and people alike[2].

The terms like Wazir, Diwan, Bakawal, Yasawal, Kotwal, Muhtasib Khatib, Perwanchi were found in the administrative set up of Persian Empire[3]. The two departments of Wizarat and Bakhshi were established in 1507-08 after Persian model and worked well in the earlier kingdom of Babar. In Hindustan, he made attempts to administer the newly conquered and occupied areas. Babar found himself in an alien land amidst hostile population so he deemed it prudent to consolidate his position without disturbing the exisiting political institutions and made changes here and there for administrative convenience[4].

We find few Persian Bakhshis during Babar's reign who belonged to Perisa—— Tughai Shah, Sultan Ahmad Shah Husain, Shah Mansur and Muhammad Ali[5].

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1. Radhey Shyam; Babar; P. 395.
2. Ibid; P. 398.
3. Ibid; P. 404.
4. Ibid; P. 408.
5. Mahibbul Hasain; Babur; P. 164.

There are several references to the office of Diwan, a term synonymous with wazir. The title diwan was prevalent in the year 1494 A.D. When Babar ascended the throne in 1494 A.D., he appointed Hasan Yaqub to the government of Andijan and also made him master of the Household i.e. Prime Minister[1]. There are few persons who are referred to have been designed as Diwan by Baber. On his fourth expedition towards Hindustan, Babar encamped at Barak-ab. It is recorded that revenues to the value of twenty thousand tankas were sent from the Lahore revenues by Khwaja Husain (Persian)[2].

Another Persian nobel Khwaja Mulla Murshid Iraqi was appointed as Diwan of Bihar in April, 1529 A.D.[3] However, Babar had no time for organising his administration according to any well defined plan. Very little was done in this direction during Babar's twenty years regime in Kabul. However, there is a great paucity of material on Babar's administrative set up. The Baburnama, the main source for his life and work contains scanty information about it. Other contemprorary and near contemporary sources also do not throw any light on his system sources on his system of government. Babar's few years of his life in Hindustan were spent in wars and in his pre-occupation with the north

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1. Babur; Baburnama; trans. A.S. Beveridge, Vol. I, II, 32. R.M. Caldecott; The Life of Babur; P. 10. F.G. Talbot; Memoirs of Babur; Ess Ess Publications, New Delhi, 1971, P. 7.

2. Babur; Baburnama; Vol. II, 551.

3. Ibid; 661-62; Ahsan Raza Khan, "Babur's settlements of his conquests in Hindustan", Proceedings of Indian History congress, Part I, Patna, 1967, P. 214, mentions the appointments of Diwan in Bihar.

west and central Asia. Consequently his brief sojourn in Hindustan did not give enough time to familiar himself with Indian conditions and reforms. His genius lay in fighting and not in administration, yet he tounched upon the aspect of administration[1].

Humayun continued the policy of Babar. Less energetic but more ceremonious he left the Wazir in full possession of his powers, Humayun divided all the affairs of government into four department, and entrusted them to the care of the best of nobles, the most learned men, and also his wazir, Amir Wais Muhammad (Persian)[2]. He, therefore, in the early reign of Humayun exercised full control over all the departments of the government, civil or military.

From 1545 A.D., onwards the Wizarat under Humayun, signified certain natable changes. When Humayun established himself in 1545 A.D.at Kabul, he gave the Vikalat, Diwani and Diwani-i-Bayutat, respectively to old rebels like Qaracha Khan, Khwaja Abdul Qasim Mashhadi and Khwaja a Qasinu (Persian). However, the office of the wazir was given to his loyal adherent, Sultan Muhammad Rishdi a Persian noble[3]. This measurs

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1. Pushpa Suri; "Babur"; Historians of Medieval India; ed. by Mohibbul Hasan, Meenakshi Prakashan, Meerut, 1968, P. 102. Babur; Babarnama; Vol. I, 367. Gulbadan Begam; Humayun Nama; P. 109. Mohibbul Hasan, Babur, Founder of the Mughal Empire in India, P. 162.
2. Saiyed Nurul Hasan; "New light on the Relations of the Early Mughal Rulers with their nobility"; Proceedings of the Indian History congress; 1944, 392
3. Iqtidar Alam Khan; "Wizarat under Humayun, 1545-1555"; Proceedings of the Indian History congress; 1961, P. 960.

split the financial functions of the vakil. For example Diwani came into the hands of the Wazir, while the general administrative functions, remained with the vakil, who among other functions, also looked after the state security and military control[1]. This was in sharp contrast to the Wizarat under Babar and also during Humyun's early reign, when the Wazir exercised both political as well as financial power.

Abd-i-Majid of Herat, was one of the servants of Humayun[2]. Humayun exalted Khwaja Abdul Majid who had been made Sarif-Diwani, by conferring on him the title of Asaf Khan and he assigned to him the Government of Delhi as part of office of vazir[3]. Akbar's accession exalted him to the rank of Sardari (commander)[4]. Another Persian noble during the reign of Humayun was Abul-i-Maali from Tabriz[5]. He was a man of decision and talent. He gained unbounded influence on Humayun's mind. Inspite of his presumptuous and overbearing nature, he rose to the high rank and estimation[6]. He

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1. Iqtidar Alam Khan; "Wizarat under Humayun, 1545-1555"; Proceedings of the Indian History congress; P. 960: " Humayun might possibly have wished to use one office to balance the incumbent of the other".
2. Shah Nawaz Khan; Maasir-ul-Umara; Vol. I, 36.
3. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama' Vol. II, 168.
4. In Akbar's reign he received a drum, flay and office of 3,000. See Shah Nawaz Khan's; Maathir-ul-Umara; Vol. I, 36
5. Muna Lal; Humayun; Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1978, P. 200.
6. William Erskine; History of India under First two Soverigns of Houses of Taimur Babur and Humayan; Idarah-i- Adabiyat-i-Delli, Delhi, 1973, vol. II, 401.

distinguished himself in the expedition to India and after victory was appointed along with others to the strategically important place of Punjab[1]. He received the dignity of being an Amir[2]. Another Persians nobles were Afzal Khan who was appointed Ashrat-i-Khazana (Accountant) and in 1549 A.D., he was made head of Diwani-i-Kharch or office of disbursement. His rank was that of Mashraf-i-Buyutat[3]. When Kamran established himself in Kabul, he put Khwaja in Prison. When Humayun resolved to march to India, the Khwaja was raised to the office of Mir-Bakhshi[4].

The Mughal tradition of one Wazir with political, financial and military powers in the state, was revived in the early days of Akbar's reign. Two reasons were responsible for it. Firstly, because the ancestors of Akbar, both Babar and Humayun had powerful Wazirs. More important, however, was the fact that at the time of his accession Akbar was a mere boy of thirteen and various forces combined at that precarious moment to threaten the very existence of the Mughal Empire in India. The exigency of the circumstances made necessary the appointment of an advisor with powers almost as those of a regent, and this high and responsible office was vested in the person of Bairam Khan.

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1. William Erskine; History of India; Vol.II 524.
2. Muna Lal, Humayun, P. 200
3. Shah Nawaz Khan, The Maathir-ul-Umara, vol. I, 148.
4. Ibid, P. 149.

In fact, it was the dynamic personality and endless efforts made a Persian Bairam Khan which at that critical juncture established peace and brought stability in the country[1].

Akbar's great ambition in life was to build up a vast and enduring empire in India. He knew that mere military power would not ensure the permanence of an empire. The experience of the Sultanate of Delhi was not lost on him. His own grandfather was a military genius, yet the empire he founded disintegrated. Akbar realized that a strong political system and an efficient administrative machinery were imperatively necessary for an enduring empire. His evaluation of permanent power based on subsidiary alliances with subordinate rulers and of an administrative system based on the fusion of Hindu and Persian systems furnished the bulwarks on which the Mughal Empire rested not only during his time but also during the reign of three successors[2].

It was during Akabar's reign however that as a counter balance to power of Wazir/Vakil, that reached its climax during the regency of Bairam Khan that the office of the chief Diwan had really come to stay in the framework of the Mughal administrative set up[3]. At the time of his enthronement, Akbar was not much interested in state affairs, he spent most of his time in all kinds of sport. A young boy of about thirteen years the actual management of the affairs for the time being fell into the hands of Bairam Khan, who exercised all soveriegn powers in the name of Akbar and controlled the affairs of the state. The king was behind the veil and the rule was that of the Vakil[4]. It was Bairam

1. Adolf Waley; A Pageant of India; S.P. Publications, Delhi, 1975, P. 257.
2. V.A. Smith; Akbar the Great Mogul, 1542-1605; oxford, 1919, P. 37.
3. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. I, 552.
4. Ibn Hasan; The central structure of the Mughal Empire; P. 121.

Khan who as Vakil commanded the army, controlled the finances, appointed and dismissed even the highest officers at will. He even went to the extent of ordering capital punishments, a measure with which he conveniently set aside his rivals. The most conspicuous case was that of Tardi Beg Khan (Turani). He was almost a second emperor.

With the fall of Bairam Khan 1561-62 A.D. began an era which witnessed the evolution and development of all the institutions, which can be termed Mughal. As Akbar's personal experiences of Bairam Khan's Vikalat was a sufficient warning against placing all powers in the hands of one person[1]. Therefore, immediately after the suspension of powers of Bairam Khan, Akbar started taking steps which gradually reduced the vakil to mere state functionary. He began by distributing the paraphernalia of Bairam Khan to a number of persons. Gradually, as we shall see later, the place of vakil was in many respects taken by the chief Diwan specially the financial powers, while the vakil though perhaps the highest office, after that of the king -- become primarily an ornamental one.

The nobles who wore the mantel of finance Minister (vazir) were Abdul Majid Asaf Khan, Muzaffar Khan Turbati, Shams-ud-Din Khwafi. Among then Muzuffar Khan was an instant success. Persians got positions in the state during the first few years of Akbar's reign because of Bairam Khan (Persian), who petronised Persians. The list of nobles who held the office of wazir given by Abul Fazl, will show that majority of them were Persians. Khwaja Abdul Majid Asaf Khan (Irani). Raja Todar Mal (Hindu), Khwaja Shah Mansur of Shiraz (Irani), Qulij Khan (Turani), Khwaja Shams-ud-din Khwafi

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1. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. II, 143, 144.

(Irani)[1].

Another Persian noble Abdul Majid Asaf Khan (1560 A.D. to 1562 A.D.) contributed in the administration for the consolidation of the Mughal Empire. When Bairam Khan was in disgrace and Akbar determined to march against the rebellious Vakil, the Emperor, for the purpose of carrying on the affairs of the state exalted Abdul Majid, by confering on him the title of Asaf Khan and he assigned to him the Government of Delhi as part of the office of Wazir[2].

Khwaja Shah Mansur Shirazi, a Persian noble and an expert financier, made the chief Diwan (1576 A.D.-1580 A.D.)[3], by Akbar because Akbar continued to try new hands and achieve success with them. A man of humble origin Shah Mansur rose to the high office of the chief Diwan because of his extrxaordinary skill in accounting[4].

Shah Mansur was an adept at the mysteries of accounts. He had formarly been appointed as an accountant in the Perfumary department. As he had disputes with MuzaffarKhan, he was dismissed. He then joined Munim Khan as his secretary and managed his Jagir. After the latter's death he was called to explain the accounts, and in the same connection he was put in chains by Raja Todar Mal in 1574 A.D[5].

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1. Abul Fazl; Ain-i- Akbari; Vol.I, 165.
2. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. II, 169. Badaoni; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh; Vol. II, 38.
3. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. III, 273. The word used is Wizarat, Abul Fazl, it seems, is not clear in the use of the term Diwan and wazir. He uses both in the same sense. On P. 431, he calls the Khwaja the Diwan. Nizam-ud-din Ahmad; Tabaqat-i-Akbari; Vol. II, 494. Badaoni; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh; Vol. II, 247.
4. Muni Lal; Akbar; Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1980, P. 235.
5. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. II, 273

The Khwaja was, however, released without any recommendation. Greatly impressed by his intelligence Akbar raised him to the exalted office of chief Diwan. Thus, it was again an assertion of power and recognition of merit. Father Monserrate has recorded that Shah Mansur had issued orders that all had to present their horses for muster. They were to be branded; if they had died their tail were to be brought. No borrowing or substituting of horses were permitted and no horses were to be sold in the Empire without the Emperor's sanction[1].

In 1577 A.D. Shah Mansur began working with Raja Todar Mal together in the Ministry. Obviously, now the Khwaja had to work under him and "in accordance with former arrangements, the settlement of the affairs of Wazirship was made by him (the Raja)"[2], but there was some friction. In the same year Muzaffar Khan (Persian) was appointed vakil, in recognition of the splendid service rendered by him in the east. Both the Khwaja and Raja naturally became Muzaffar Khan's subordinates[3].

Another Persian noble Mir Fathullah Shirazi was raised to the dignity of the chief Sadr in 1585 A.D. and his only duty was erasure in order that he might confiscate the lands of the poor, which were not given them. Though Akbar put him among the class of bigots but he connived at his practices. Akbar thought it desirable to encourage a man of such attainments, and practical knowledge[4]. However, as multi–farious duties and with them the dignity of the Sadr, had dwindled down to nothing, Fathullah could easily be

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1. Mohammad Azhar Ansari; European Travellers under the Mughals (1580-1627); Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i-Delli, Delhi, 1975, P. 14.

2. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. III, 300.

3. Ibid; P. 303.

4. Badaoni; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh; Vol. II, 325.

spared for missions to the Deccan. He was Sadr, merely in name and had not the power of conferring even five bighas[1]. Akbar associated him in the vazirship with Raja TodarMal in 1585 A.D.[2].

The famous Persian Mir-Bakhshi's during Akbar's reign were Lashkar Khan (1573-74 A.D.)[3], Khwaja Ghiyasud din Ali Asaf Khan (1576-77 A.D.)[4], Asaf Khan Jaffar Beg (1581-85)[5].

We can say that Persians contributed a lot in finance department. The appointments of Muzaffar Khan and Shah Mansur from ordinary posts to Ministership without any recommendation testify to the excellent choice of Akbar[6]. He had extreme regard for the work and efficiency of Mir Fathullah Shirazi. Akbar was wise to leave wide and full powers to his chief Diwans by entrusting the responsibility of financial affairs to them[7]. The Chief Diwans of Akbar (mostly Persians), therefore, may rightly be called as the master brains behind the success of his early measures and consolidation of his empire[8].

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1. Abul Fazl; Ain-i-Akbari; Vol. I, 284.
2. Badaoni; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh; Vol.II, 325.
3. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. II, 127.
4. Abul Fazl; Ain-i-Akbari; Vol. I, 451. Shah Nawaj Khan; Maasir-ul-Umara; Vol.1, 382-87.
5. Abul Fazl; Ain-i-Akbari; Vol. I, 407-51. Shah Nawaz Khan; Maasir-ul-Umara; Vol.I, 727.
6. R.P. Tripathi; Some Aspects of Muslim Administration; P. 148.
7. Ibid; P. 208.
8. Ibn Hasan; The central Structure of the Mughal Empire; P. 170.

Persians also held the key post of Wazir in other Mughal Emperors reign. Few outstanding Persian nobles were Sharif Khan was appointed to the high dignities of Vakeel-ul-Sultanet[1] Asaf Khan was appointed Diwan ba Istiqlal (chancellor with full powers)[2]. Khawaja Abul Hasan was appointed Diwan of the Empire in the 16th year of his reign[3]. Asaf Khan Qazuiri held the post of vakil in 3rd year of Jahangir's reign[4]. Asaf Khan Abul Hasan was appointed the vakil of the Empire on 21st year of Jahangir's reign[4]. Sadiq Khan was appointed the Mir Bakhshi on 22nd year of Jahangir's reign[6].

Fifteen days after his accession Jahangir appointed Sharif Khan, a Persian (whom the Emperor considered as his brother, friend and companion) the Grand wazir, promoted him to the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse and bestowed on him the title of Amir-ul-Umara[7]. Jahangir Says in his memoirs, that he exalted Asaf Khan (Persian) from the rank of an Amir to that of wazir, and promoting him to the rank of 5,000 made him the guardian of Parwez[8], when the latter was ordered to march against the Rana. A few

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1. Francis Gladwin; History of Jahangir; P. 21.
2. Jahangir; Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri; Vol.I, 16.
3. Ibn Hasan; The Central structure of the Mughal Empire; P. 182.
4. Ibn Hasan; The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire; P. 140.
5. Ibid; P. 140
6. Ibid; P. 230
7. Jahangir; Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri; Vol.I, 14. Probably by Grand Wazir, Jahangir meant vakil. Jahangir also made over the Uzuk (Signet-ring) seal to the Amir-ul-Umara.
8. Ibid; P. 16.

months after the confirmation of wazir Khan to the office of the wazir/Chief Diwan, Khan Beg, to whom Jahangir had given the title of vazir-ul-Mulk before his accession, was attached to him. Jahangir writes, "the vizirship of my dominions I gave in the proportions of half and half to Khan Beg ....”[1]. However, soon after, as Wazir Khan was not found useful he transferred to Bengal as the Diwan and Ghiyas Beg (Persian), Diwan -i-Bayutat, given the title of Itimad-ud-daula, with the rank of 1,500[2]. Thus, in the early part of Jahangir's reign the wizarat was held by Persians. Sharif Khan, who shared his work with vazir-ul-Mulk and Itimad-ud-daula. As the illness of Sharif Khan necessitated a fresh appointment, therefore, Jahangir in 1607 A.D. entrusted the duties of Wazir ship to Asaf Khan (Persian). In the same year vazir ul-Mulk was made Mir Bakhshi and Itimad-ud-daula was deposed from his office in connection with his sons conspiracy to release Khusrau[3]. " Thus, the work, passed entirely into the hands of Asaf Khan and Abul Hasan and the arrangement continued till the fourth year when Asaf Khan was sent to the Deccan". In 1611 A.D. Itimad-ud-daula was exalted to the high rank of the wazir of the Empire and soon after Khwaja Abul Hasan was sent to the Deccan as a Subahdar[4]. With this the first stage of the Wizarat during Jahangir's reign came to an end. During this time, none of the wazir was able to dominate. Jahangir owing to the rapid changes in the office. The system of joint colleagues as established by Akbar was also continued by

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1. Jahangir; Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri; Vol.I, 20

2. Ibid; P. 22.

3. Ibid; 109.

4. Ibn Hasan; The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire; P. 171.

Jahangir. There was however, one difference that while Akbar had divided the work of the revenue minitsry between the colleagues, Jahangir divided the work according to the political divisions of the empire[1]. Itimad-ud-daula, became the sole wazir of the dominious during the second period of the wizarat witnessed a meteoric rise in the power and prestige of Itimad-ud-daula[2].

In 1611 A.D. Jahangir married Nur Jahan, the daughter of Itimad-ud-daula. This marriage connection, no doubt gave the wazir an advantage which he fully utilized, but Itimad-ud-daula did not owe his rise to the influence which Nur Jahan exercised over the Emperor. In fact, it was his personal qualifications which had impressed Jahangir. During the following years. Itimad-ud-daula held the main strings of the revenue administration and he was repeatedly promoted in recognition of his meritorious record of service[3]. In 1616 A.D. his rank had already risen to 7,000 personal and 5,000 horses[4].

In the absence of such chroniclers as of Abul Fazl, the measure of Itimad-ud-daula's part and influence in the administration cannot be traced to the same extent to which is possible in the case of Akbar's reign.

After the death of Itimad-ud-daula in 1621 A.D., Jahangir summed up his qualifications in the following words, "Though the weight of such a Kingdom was on his shoulders and it is not possible for or withing the power of a martal to make everyone contended, yet no one ever went to Itimad-ud-daula with a petition or on business who

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1. Jahangir; Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri; Vol. I, 57.

2. Ibid; 200

3. Ibid; 260-281.

4. Ibid; 320.

turned from him in an injured frame of mind. He showed loyalty to the sovereign, and yet left pleased and hopeful, him who was in need Infact, this was a speciality of his"[1]. Of the various Finance Ministers who served under Jahangir, Itimad-ud-daula is the most famous. "No one ever wrote better state papers. No one was such a perfect master of his temper. Never did he abuse or whip a servant. Never did he inflict a wanton injury to anyone...... but unfortunately the gold in Mirza Ghiyas was mingled with alloy of the most sordid Kind. He loved mammon with all his soul and frequently stooped so low as to accept bribes[2]."

Itimad-ud-daula was succeeded by Khwaja Abul Hasan (Persian). During the second Phase of Jahangir's reign, it was Nur Jahan (Persianlady) who dominated not only the king but her influence is evident on the entire administrative machinery. In the last year of Jahangir's reign Asaf Khan, as the vakil possessed power and influence and stood at the head of the government[3]. Abul Hasan was made Mir-Bakhshi in the year 1612-13 A.D., jointly with Ibrahim Khan, exalted dignity of Paymster (Mir-Bakhshi) of the household[4].

1. Jahangir; Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri; Vol.II, 222.
2. Beni Prashad; History of Jahangir; The Indian press Ltd., Allahabad. 1940, P. 115-116.
3. Laiq Ahmad; The Prime Ministers of Aurangzeb; P. 21.
4. Shah Nawaj Khan; Maasir-ul-Umara; Vol. I, 128. Jahangir; Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri; Vol. I, 256.

Another Persian noble who contributed towards the expansion of the Mughal Empire was Islam Khan Mashhadi, who became the Mir-Bakhshi of Shahjahan in the 1633-34A.D.[1]. In 1636 A.D. he was appointed governor of the extensive province of Bengal in place of Azam Khan. In 1642 A.D. Islam Khan received the charge of the high office of Vazir[2]. Islam Khan had a passion for work and was very exacting from others too. "His military capacity and sound learning had earned for him the title of Sahib-i-Saif O qalam (Master of Pen and Sword)[3].

Sadullah Khan (Persian) was also appointed the Diwan-i-Kul. His rise like many others was due to his personal merit, efficiency and loyalty and he rose to be the best and the most famous Diwan of Shahjahan. "He combined in his person the highest literary accomplishment of his age with an extraordinary capacity for the management of officers placed under his charge"[4]. Chandra Bhan Brahman, who was his assistant and favourite companion records that "in drafting his notes on accounts, revenue and financial matters, he needed neither the help of his secretaries nor the expert opinion of his auditors". Again, "In learning and scholarship his presence, reminded one of Abul Fazl[5]". Sadullah Khan enjoyed the respect and perfect confidence of the king till his death. In the

1. That is Ist Bakhshi; Lahori, Badshahnama, Vol. I, 542.
2. Shah Nawaz Khan; Maashir-ul-Umara; Vol.I, 694.
3. Ibn Hasan; The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire; P. 192.
4. Ibid; P. 193.
5. Chandra Bhan Brahmin, Vide Ibn Hasan; The central structure of the Mughal Empire; P. 195.

realizations of government's dues, he never tolerated any injury to the collectors or hardshop to the cultivator. Hindustan grew prosperous during his Wizarat[1]. Jafar Khan (Persian), was made Mir-Bakhshi[2] in 1648 A.D. by ShahJahan. He received an increase of 1,000 with 500 horse and was raised to the position of 4,000 with 2,000 horse. In 1647 A.D., he was made Governor of Punjab. Danishmand Khan spent a long time in Persian acquiring knowledge and excellence; when his excellence became known to Shah Jahan. He was made 2nd Bakhshi in succession to Lashkar Khan, and received the title of Danishmand Khan[3]. In 1659 A.D. his rank was raised to 3,000 with 800 horse and was made Mir Bakhshi. In the same year he resigned[4] the office.

The Persian nobility has more importance and value during the reign of Aurangzeb inspite of his religious bigot. Though Aurangzeb distrusted this race, he was forced to employ them on account of their unrivalled ability in book keeping and finance. Some of the Persian nobles of Aurangzeb's were Zafar Khan Prime Minister, Ruhullah Khan I, Paymaster General, Muhammad Amin, author of Zafarnama. Ruhullah Khan not only held successively the offices of Mir-Bakhshi of Ahadis (1663 A.D.), akhta begi, Khan Saman, akhtabegi (again), and second bakhshi, first bakhshi, but also served as faujdar of Damau and Saharnpur and Subedar of Orissa[5]. Muhammad Amin Khan was

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1. Chandra Bhan Brahmin, Vide Ibn Hasan; The central structure of the Mughal Empire; P. 199.
2. Shah Nawaj Khan; Maasir-ul-Umara; Vol. I, 722.
3. His name was Mulla Shafia of Yezd. Ibid; Vol.I, 442.
4. Bernier; Travels in Mughal Empire; Vol. I, He resigned because he did not approve Dara Shikoh, 67.
5. Athar Ali; Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb; P. 35.

the Sadr-i-Kul of Aurangzeb and thus incharge of judicial administration; but he was also assigned a number of military duties throughout his career[1].

As noted above, the judiciary was generally treated as a separate institution as it required a specialized academic training, and the qazis and Sadrs could expect careers in one branch only. Saiyid Jalal Khan Bukhari, Abdul Wahab, and Shaikh-al-Islam, for example, made their careers in the judiciary only, and no other duties were even assigned to them. Amin Khan seems to have been the only exception. The officers of the judiciary were seldom assigned any executive or financial duties probably in order to avoid the possibility of their having any administrative interests.

On the financial and purely administrative side, the post of the diwan, the Mir Bakshi, the second Bakhshi and the third bakhshi were important. The post of the central diwan was considered to carry the highest authority, and nobles of the first rank like Muazaam Khan (Persian), wazir Khan (Turani) are Jafar Khan (Persian), etc were appointed to it. The post of Mir Bakhshi was also almost as important, and it was assigned to the nobles of the first grade like Sadaullah Khan, Mir-Bakhshi, Bahramand Khan, and Zulfiqar Khan. Zulfiqar Khan was the last Mir-Bakhshi in the reign of Aurangzeb and the most influential and powerful Persian noble from the period 1707-39 A.D.[2]. In 1678 A.D. he was honoured with the title of Itiqad Khan[3]. In 1690 A.D. the title

1. Jadunath Sarkar; History of Aurangzeb; Vol. III, 78.

2. He was born in 1657 A.D. and his original name was Muhammad Ismail. Jamshid (Edited); Ruqqat-i-Alamgiri; P. 153.

3. Shah Nawaz Khan; Maasir-ul-Umara; Vol. II, Part-2, 1033.

of Zulfiqar Khan was conferred on him by Aurangzeb for capturing Raigarh and imprisoning Yasoo Bai, Sambhaji's widow, and her son Shivaji, afterwards known by the name of Shahu[1], Zulfiqar Khan was made Mir-Bakhshi in 1702 A.D.[2].

Zulfiqar Khan was made Viceroy of the Deccan after Aurangzeb's death in 1707 A.D., when he took the side of Azam initially and helped him against his brother Muazzam. He was made viceroy of the Deccan by the new Emperor Bahadur Shah and was honoured by him with the title of Amir-ul-Umara in 1708A.D.[3]. Emperor conferred the post of the viceroy of the six Subahas of the Deccan upon Zulfiqar Khan and informed all the officers posted in Deccan that "the binding and loosening of the affairs of the Deccan would depend upon the advice of the Mir-Bakhshi Zulfiqar Khan, and that he would be responsible for all its affairs"[4]. This time Persian nobility enjoyed a dominating position in the state, and attempted to use their power to institute policies and measure aimed at giving a new lease of life to Mughal Empire.

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1. Shah Nawaz Khan; Maasir-ul-Umara; Vol. II, Part-2; 1034.

3. He was made Mir-Bakhshi when in 1691 A.D. he was sent against Gungi, but failed to take it due to the resistance of Santaji Gorpay; and he was recalled by the emperor in 1694A.D.. He was sent there again for a second time and was successful in taking the fortress and was made Mir Bakhshi in 1702 A.D. Satish Chandra, Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court, P. 54. Khafi Khan, Muntakhab-ut-Lubab, vide Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, 408.

3. Zulfiqar Khan, Mir Bakhshi was given the rank of 7000/7000 and title of Samsau-ud-Daulah Amir-ul-Umara See Shah Nawaz Khan; Maasir-ul-Umara; Vol.II, Part-2, 1037.

4. Satish Chandra; Party and Politics at the Mughal Court; 43, 297.

Zulfiqar Khan hold two important posts (Mir-Bakhshi and viceroy of Deccan). Moreover, he was not prepared to tolerate any interference in revenue or any other matter pretaining to the Deccan. It appears that Wazir, Munim Khan was opposed to the grant of such wide powers to Mir-Bakhshi. He (Wazir), put forward the argument that the province of Burhanpur (Khandesh) and half of Berar generally known as Pain-Gihat, did not form a part of the Deccan, because Khandesh had been a part of independent kingdom of Farukis, and Painghat had been annexed by Akbar Munim Khan, wazir wanted to include these Subahas in the provinces depended on Delhi, and to vest the authority over the political and revenue affairs, and the appointment, dismissal and transfer of officers in those areas in the hands of his eldest son, Mahabat Khan, who held the post of the third Bakhshi[1]. Mir Bakhshi Zulfiqar Khan had never got such wide powers even in the reign of Akbar. It is the only instance when the power and authority was enjoyed by Mir-Bakhshi as the viceroy of the Deccan. He raised the Mansab of Nimaji Sindhis to 7000/5000 and the Mansabs granted to his sons and grandsons at the same time came altogether 40,000 zat, 25,000 Sawar. Many Parganas in the settled parts

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1. Khafi Khan; Muntakhab-ul-Lubab; Vol. II, 626-27, Zulfiqar Khan Mir Bakhshi's Diwan in the Deccan was Diyanat Khan Khiafi, the son of the ex-diwan of the Deccan, Amanat Khan. At the instance of Munim Khan Wazir, Diyanat Khan was, at first, Superseded and Murshid Quli Khan, the diwan of Bengal, was appointed to succeed him. It seems that Munim Khan wanted to use Murshid Quli as a check upon Zulfiqar Khan, Murshid Quli was not keen to accept the appointment, and soon, by the exertions of Zulfiqar Khan, Amanat Khan was made the Diwan of the Deccan once again, and Diyanat Khan was made his deputy. Thus Zulfiqar Khan, Mir-Bakhshi remained in the affairs of the Deccan, vide in Satish Chandra; Party and Politics at the Mughal court; P 44.

of Aurangabad were transferred to him, displacing more than 1000 mansabdars, big and small. Inspite of considerable opposition, these measures of Mir-Bakhshi could not be reversed[1].

Mir Bakhshi Zulfiqar Khan, wished that he should be allowed to retain all his old appointments in addition the post of Wazir. When Munim Khan (Wazir) died in 1711 A.D. Azim-ush-Shah and Sadullah Khan, Diwan-i-tan supported that Mir Bakhshi should be made wazir and the post of Mir Bakhshi and the viceroy of the Deccan should be conferred upon Mahabat Khan and Khan-i-Zaman (sons of Munim Khan). However, the proposal was opposed by Zulfiqar Khan Mir Bakhshi and the Emperor. The former was not prepared to give up the post of either Mir-Bakhshi or that of the viceroy of the Deccan. He, therefore, claimed the post of wazir for his father Asad Khan. Bahadur Shah's objection was that the sons of Munim Khan were unfit for the posts proposed for them. As far Mir Bakhshi Zulfiqar Khan's claims, there was no precedent that three powerful posts such as those of the wazir, the Mir Bakhshi and the viceroy of the Deccan should be held by members of one family, it would be dangerous for the dynasty Hence Zulfiqar Khan Mir Bakhshi demands were turned down by the emperor Bahadur Shah.

It would not be correct to see in this dispute only the overwhelming pride and ambitiousness of Zulfiqar Khan, Mir Bakhshi, who seems to have, come to the conclusion that circumstances demanded the concentration of power in the hands of one man. This belief may be traced back, perhaps, to the later years of Aurangzeb's reign when the imperial arms suffered a number of reverses and was apparently strengthened during the reign of Bahadur Shah when, Imperial policy seemed to lack a sense of

1. Satish Chandra; Party and Politics at the Mughal Court; P. 44-45.

direction. Zulfiqar Khan. Mir Bakhshi seems to have felt that the Mughal empire could be saved from imminent disruption only by a person with a close personal knowledge of imprial affairs, who was able to win the confidence of the Rajputs and Marathas and Hindus and, at the same time secure the support of the old nobles[1]. Such a person, Zulfiqar Khan, Mir-Bakhshi flattered himself, could only be he. From these conclusions followed certain others, the chief of which was that the wazir must be made the hub of all affairs, and should control not only the executive and financial affairs, which were his special province but also the army which was the special charge of the Mir Bakhshi. He must also be vested with authority over some subhas with large resources, otherwise he would not be able to maintain his position in face of the jealousy and hostility which he would inevitably meet from a section of the nobles.

Thus, zulfiqar Khan's concept of the Wizaiat implied a radical departure from the traditions which had been establiehd under the Mughal sovereigns in India, and re created the possibility of a serious struggle between the wazir and the monarchy, and between the wazir and the nobles.

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1. Belief in the imminent disintegration of the Mughal empire was so widespread towards the end of Aurangzeb's reign that Aurangzeb himself echoed them in a number of his letters. Thus, he wrote to Bahadur Shah "...........it is written that after me will come an emperor, ignorant, narrow minded, over powered by injuries –whose words will be all imperfect and whose plans will be immature. He will act towards some men with so much prodigality as almost to drown them, and towards others with so much vigour as to raise the fear of destruction .....". Akham-i-Alamgiri; ed, by Sarkar, P. 12 vide from Satish Chandra; Party and potitics at the Mughal court, P. 55-56.

Persian nobility was on the top rung during the year 1712-13 A.D. because the post of wazir, viceroy of Deccan and Mir Bakhshi fell into the hand of Zulfiqar Khan[1]. All the revenue matters and administrative matters pertaining to the Deccan was dealt by Zulfiqar Khan. No Sanads were to be granted to any mansabdar till his claims had been checked and confirmed. Due to the powerfulness of Zulfiqar Khan. Emperor Jahandar deared not dismissed him or even oppose him on any issue.

After becoming Jahandar's Wazir (1712 A.D.) Zulfiqar Khan abolished Jizyah. This tax, which had become a symbol of narrowness of outlook and discrimination to the Hindus was removed largely with a view to creating confidence among them, and to clear the way for the establishment of friendly relations with the Rajputs and Marathas.

In 1713 A.D. after Jahandar's murder in the battle with Farukh Shiar, Zulfiqar Khan was also treacherously put to death by Farukh Shiar. After his death and the invasion of Persian adventurer Nadir Shah in 1739 A.D., the role of the Persian nobility took a new turn. Till 1712-13 A.D. Persian nobility, had played as significant a role in the consolidation of the Mughal Empire as it had played in its expansion.

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1. Shah Nawaz Khan; Maasir-ul-Umara; Vol. II, Part 2, 1037. Satish Chandra; Party and Politics at the Mughal Court; P. 43; Previous to this the Mughal Emperor had never permitted Mir Bakhshi to hold two such posts whatever may have been the exigencies of the situation.

CHAPTER 4

Role of Persian Nobility in Politics

Persian Nobility played a significant role in Mughal politics right from the inception of the Empire. The essence of political genius lies in the spirit of compromise, the capacity to understand divergence of interest, the ability to assimilate and synthesise. The Mughals showed these virtues eminently, generation after generation, during their rule of over two centuries in India. Babar and Humayum, though of an essentially religious frame of mind, could subordinate their sectarian loyalties to political exigencies seeing that they could gain the support of Persia only by changing their creed from Sunni to Shia[1].

Akbar recognised and moulded the nobility as an institution on a particular pattern, which brought together the heterogeneous elements constituting the nobility and made them look like one body. Because of service conditions Persian nobles became dependent on the monarch, but for personal gains and advancements they formed groups based on their racial or ethnic afinities. Thus groupism became an ethos of the Persian nobility and intrigue their modus operandi. It would not be technically correct to say that their actions were politically motivated. The term party would imply a number of persons united in maintaining a cause, policy or opinion or the system of taking sides on public questions; similarly political motivation implies actions based on principles evolving out of the art of government and administration[2]. A Persian noble was an individual, and was loyal to the Emperor because he was conscious that his career depended on the pleasure

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1. Radhey Shyam; Babar; P. 45

2. Nizam-ud-din Ahmad; Tabqat-i-Akbari; Vol. II, 140.

of the Emperor. If he formed a group or sided with a particular group at any period, he did so not on principles but purely on the basis of his judgement as to the extent of benefit he would derive by adopting the particular course of action. Having no roots in the soil he never developed a sense of patriotism. They remained as efficient tools in the hands of the Emperor, as long as the Emperor was capable of wielding them. At the first sight of physical weakness in the Emperor, the nobles started looking for the next possible successor and according to their judgement sided with the groups supporting one or the other scion of the royal family. Mughal history is full of such incidents and reveal how the nobles changed sides at every town of events. The rebellions of Salim, Khusrau; Shahjahan supply cases of one type, ethronement of Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb cases of another type. Persian nobles like Bairam Khan, Itimad-ud-daula, Asaf Khan (Itimad Khan), Sadulla Khan, Mir Jumla, are only a few to mention from amongst the whole lot of Persian nobility.

The Persian nobility therefore, right from its inception did not passes the qualities that could make it a source of strength to the empire when the crown was weak. The victories of Hemu, a general of Adali, the Afghan ruler of India at the time when Humayun staged a come back, changed the complex of political activity at the court[1]. The unity among the nobles disappeared yielding place to an atmosphere of suspicion, conspiracies and rivalries . Even when all sections of nobility had exerted themselves to maintain the empire, the reading of Khutba by Munim Khan in the name of Sulaiman Mirza and the defeat of Tardi Beg at the hands of Hemu, produced sense of diffidence among the nobles. Bairam Khan (Persian) salvaged the position by deciding to fight Hemu, rather than retire to Kabul, assuggested by some, to take measures for retrieving the affairs[2].

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1. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. II, 62.

2. Farishta; Tarikh-i-Farishta; Vol. 1, P. 245.

Thus an apt handling of situation helped in the resurrection of loss of honour the Mughals had suffered in their first encounter against Hemu. Bairam Khan's bold decision to face the challenge rather than falling back changed the complex of the situation. The resultant battle of Panipat saved the Mughals. The victory at Panipat (1556 A.D.) put them back in occupation of Delhi and Agra[1]. However, his style of functioning brought. Bairam Khan into sharp conflict with Turani nobles particularly the faction led by Maham Anaga. It also created misgivings in the mind of Akbar capitalising on which the Turanis began to clamour for the fall of Bairam Khan[2].

The over bearing attitude of Bairam Khan led to a court intrigue among the Turani nobles which led to the fall of Bairam Khan. Then followed a chain of rebellions. Nobles of the senior order, both Turanis and Iranis, tried to dish out some political gain rather than help establish the Mughal rule.

Rivalry between Turanis and Bairam Khan had existed since the days of Humayun. An unsuccessful attempt was made to Prejudice Humayun against Bairam Khan when he was in Kabul. In 1553 A.D.; Humayun became jealous of Bairam Khan, owing to the calumny of some of his courtiers. They stated that he was carrying on intrigues with Persian Government, and the King thought it necessary to march to Qandhar. Bairam Khan, conscious of his innocence, came out when he heard of his approach with five or six attendants only, to congratulate Humayun on his arrival and to lay his offerings at his feet, and the latter perceiving how he had been deceived, statisfied Bairam Khan for the reason of his coming and spent two months with him.

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1. Ferishtah; History of the Rise of Mahammadan power; Vol. II, 189.

2. Ibn Hasan; The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire; P. 121.

During this time, the enemies of Bairam Khan were disgraced and himself loaded with favours[1]. The differences, however, were forgotten in view of the contemplated reconquest of India. The rise of Bairam Khan to the top position after the battle of Panipat resurrrected the forgotten jealousies. Bairam had played an important role during Humayun's negotiations with Shah Tahmasp for getting support in a bid to reconquer India. He, therefore, began to take sides with Persian nobility. He would not punish them whatever be the extent of their offences[2].

According to Abul Fazl, "Bahadur Khan, brother of Khan-i-Zaman who had stirred up seditions and strife in zamindawar and had loaded dust of confusion and tumult on his own head, came from Zamindawar ashmed and downcast and was exalted by doing homage. By the influence of Bairam Khan Khan-i-Khanan, he did not receive punishment for his evil deeds"[3]. Haji Muhammad Khan Sistani stepped into the office

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1. Farishta; Tarikh-i-Farishta; Vol.I, 241. Nizam-ud-din Ahmad; Tabqat-i-Akbari; Vol. II, 79. Badaoni; Mantakhab-ut-Tawarikh, 456.

2. Khan-i-Zaman's ignominons affair with Shahim Beg was not taken note of. See Abul Fazl's; Akbarnama; Vol. II, 67. Bahadur Khan, brother of Ali Quli Khan while at Zamindawar unsuccessfully attacked Qandhar in an attempt to capture it from Shah Muhammad Qilati after that futile attempt Bahadur came to India. Qandhar was the jagir of Bairam Khan. It was being looked after for him by Shah Muhammad Qilati. Bahadur Khan was in possession of Zamindawar. He made an attempt to capture qandhar from Shah Muhammad who with his own intelligence and with the help of Persians, managed to save Qandhar from Bahadur Khan. Istead of being punished for his seditious activities he managed to get Multan as jagir on Bairam Khan's support. See Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. II, 52.

3. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. II, 53.

from which Pir Muhammad, was removed. Haji Muhammad was a close associate of Bairam Khan. He belonged to Persia[1].

As against the gains which accrued to the Persians, the Turanis had to suffer a number of humiliations. The first victim of Bairam Khan's move against Turanis was Tardi Beg. Already during Humayun's invasion of Hindustan they had clashed in every war council. Now, as the commander of the defeated troops after the loss of Delhi, of which he had been the Governor, Tardi Beg was at the mercy of Bairam Khan. The Khan-i-Khanan also thought that the occasion, when Tardi Beg was defeated and ashamed was most opportune and therefore, renewed his friendship and affection with Tardi Beg and invited him into his tent and had him executed. While Akbar happened to be out on a hawking party. On Akbar's return, Bairam Khan informed him that he had to punish Tardi Beg because of his flight and that the act could not be delayed as otherwise the morale of the army would have been effected[2].

With the removal of Tardi Beg Bairam Khan, became the undisputed commander-in-Chief. According to Badaoni. Tardi Beg was executed for his treachery and that

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1. Haji Muhammad sistani, a townsman of the Portector (Bairam Khan), was appointed to succeed Pir Muhammad Khan as the Kings's preceptor. See Farishta's; Tarikh-i-Farishta; Vol.II, 247 Khwaja Nizam-ud-din Ahmad; Tabqat-i-Akbari; Vol.II, 140.

2. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol.II, 51-53. Nizam-ud-din Ahmad; Tabaqat-i-Akbari; Vol. V, 251, Badaoni; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh; Vol. II, 7. Mahmomed Kasim Farishta; History of the Rise of the Mahommdan Power in India; Vol.II, 88.

Bairam Khan had obtained a sort of permission from His Majesty Akbar for the execution[1]. However, there certainly was, as Nizam-ud-din Ahmad records an evidence of great cowardice against Tardi Beg, but not of treachery[2]. This cruel and uncalled for deed, which had been performed without the young Emperor's knowledge and had deprived him of a faithful servant, sowed in Akbar's heart, the first seeds of revolt against the licence of power assumed by his ataliq (Bairam Khan). Mean while, by celebrating his marriage with Salima Begum[3]a daughter of Humayun's sister, the all powerful Khan-i-Khanan became a relation of the Emperor. Nevertheless, since the arrival of the court in the Panjab, Bairam Khan's position was not as unchallenged as before, for tension had started to build up between him and the Harem party. Moreover, signs of estrangement between Bairam Khan and the Young Prince had also begun to come to surface. This estrangement once begun, rapidly increased, culminating in the overthrow of the Khan-i-Khanan various factors combined leading to the downfull of Bairam Khan, who was virtually the wazir with 'unlimited powers' first in Al-Mawardi's description.

To begin with, Bairam Khan had to face the animosity of the Harem party and many Chagtai Mughal nobles, which was based partly on a natural antipathy. Bairam Khan seemed to give preference to his co religionists. This was not acceptable to the harem party which consisted of Sunnis and in the Mughal court also the Sunnis formed a

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1. Badaoni; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh; Vol. II, 7.
2. Nizam-ud-din Ahmad; Tabaqat-i-Akbari; Vol. II, 216.
3. Nizam-ud-din Ahmad; Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II, 216. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol.II, 97. Badaoni; Muntakhab-ut-Taiwarikh; Vol. II, 13.

majority[1]. Therefore, they wanted to pull their rival from the high position he held. Also the recent execution of Tardi Beg made the nobles frantic and anxious about their position in the court[2], which seemed to be under Bairam Khan's control. An intense feeling of owe and terror filled their hearts and their personal safety demanded the removal of Bairam Khan.

The unbridled exercise of almost unlimited powers by Bairam Khan excited the jealousy and opposition of the Chargtai nobles and also of the Young Monarch's favourites, particularly Maham Anaga and her son Adham Khan, who had their own ambitions. Therefore, they began to poison Akbar's ears, the mistakes of Khan-i-Khanan were magnified and his motives ofter misrepresented. In view of Bairam Khan's life time's unstained services and his devotion to Akbar and the Mughal ruling family, the young monarch, at first, did not pay much attention to the back biting against Bairam Khan[3].

Bairam Khan (Persian) went a step further by interfering directly in the personal affairs of Akbar.He opposed his marriage proposal to the daughter of Mirza Abdullah Khan Mughal. It was only when Nasir-ul-Mulk gave him to understand that opposition in such matters was very unacceptable that he consented to it[4].

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1. A.L. Srivastava; The Mughal Empire (1526-1803 A.D.); P. 144.
2. Ibid; 144.
3. Nizam-ud-din Ahmad; Tabaqat-i-Akbari; Vol. II, 236.
4. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol.II, 88.

The first sign of breach between the Protector and his ward appeared when Akbar's army was besieging Mankot. One day, during a prolonged contest between the two royal elephants, by chance they, came near the Khan-i-Khanan's tent. Bairam Khan at that time was lying ill in his tent and suspected that this incident had happened at the suggestion of Akbar[1]. Bairam Khan also named Shams-ud-din Alka Khan and Maham Anaga for this incident and for creating bad relations between him and Akbar.

In 1558-59 A.D., there came the sudden dismissal of Pir Muhammad Khan, a protégé of Bairam Khan and also his (naib) deputy in revenue and financial affairs. As the Mulla was also Akbar's tutor this action was not approved by Akbar, but still he did not interfere[2].

On another occasion, Bairam Khan put to death one of Akbar's elephant driver since the latter had been unable to control the royal elephants, who attacked one of Bairam Khan's elephants so brutally that its entrails came out[3].

In 1558 A.D., Masahid Beg, son of Khwaja Kilan was put to death by Bairam Khan's orders, because the former had shown great ill feeling and malice towards him. This even gave great offence not only to the Chagtai nobles and officers but also to the king himself[4].

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1. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama Vol. II, 91-92. Elliot & Dowson; Tabaqat-i-Akbari; Vol. V, 255-256, Badaoni; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh; Vol.II, 12-13. Farishta; History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India; Vol.II 91.
2. Ibid; 130-132. Ibid; 257-259. Ibid; 20-21. Ibid; 194.
3. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol.II, 139-140.
4. Ibid; 107-108. Elliot & Dawson; Tabaqat-i-Akbari; Vol. V, 257, Badaoni; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh; Vol. II, 19, Ferishta; History of the Rise of the Mahomedan power in India; Vol. II, 257.

That there was a cluster of such men about Akbar, who disliked Bairam Khan, who had ben injured by lion, who expected from the Prince favours which they could not hope to obtain from the minister, is certain. This feeling of envy and opposition was shared by the ladies of harem also. Maham Anaga, the leader of the harem party and the chief nurse of Akbar kept on whispering into the ears of Akbar, that since all the powers of the state were monopolised by Bairam Khan, the time has arrived when Akbar should take the administration into his own hands[1]. and Akbar himself was not unwilling to take this responsibility. He was resolved no longer to be held in Shackles by his Protector who considered himself indispensable and whose attitude was becoming haughty and domineering day by day. Akbar wanted to be the King, de-facto as well as de jure. Bairam Khan became heedless and forgot that it was only natural for Akbar, as he was growing up, to get annoyed with too strict a tutelage. More so, when Bairam Khan held tightly the strings of purse and Akbar's household complained that they were paid worse than even the servants of Khan-i-Khanan[2].

Matters came to a head in the beginning of 1560 A.D. when the conspirators took action. The initiative was taken by Maham Anaga, who in consultation with Shihab-ud-din Ahmad, the Governor of Delhi, planned to get Akbar out of Agra. Akbar reached Sikandra on a hunting expedition without informing Bairam Khan and then proceeded to Delhi to visit his mother Maham Anaga and others succeeded in turning Akbar's mind against the Protector and Akbar issued a proclamation that the regency was dissolved and that from that moment he would take upon himself and sole administration of

1. Badaoni; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh; Vol.II 29. Nizam-ud-din Ahmad; Tabaqat-i-Akbari; Vol.II, 238, Elliot & Dowson; Tabaqat-i-Akbari; Vol. V, 262.

2. Badaoni; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh; Vol.II, 30.

affairs[1]. The degraded Minister was ordered into banishment as far as distant Mecca, who at first proved refractory, and armed his followers for resistance, but being defeated, at length reluctantly preapred to undertake the expedition. While passing through Gujrat towards the occan, he was set upon by some Afghan Cavalry and murdered in revenge by a chief of that place, Mubarak Khan, whose father he had slain[2].

The four year regency of Bairam Khan (1556-1560 A.D.) was momentous in the history of India; not only was the young prince firmly seated on the throne of Delhi, internal dissensions stamped out, and some most important non Persian rivals were put down and an extension of territory was carried out. Despite his long service and devotion to Humayun and Akbar, Bairam Khan remains condemned for his short-sightedness. His case was a warning against the unrestricted use of a Wazir's power in the kingdom, whether Persian or non-Persian. Khwaja Shah Mansur, a Persian noble became the victim of conspiracy on the part of nobles who through forged letters managed to establish that the Khawaja had been in league with Mirza Hakim during the Bengal and Bihar rebellion 1580-81 A.D.

Raja Todar Mal, who on account of rivalry with Shah Mansur, and of his being in the same line (wazir), had been waiting for an opportunity. Raja Todar Mal represented to Akbar that while the wazir was to guard the finances honestly and jealously. It was also his duty to keep an eye on the interests of the servants with due regard to the prevailing

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1. Elliot and Dowson; Tabaqat-i-Akbari; Vol.V 264. Nizam-ud-din Ahmad; Tabaqat-i-Akbari; Vol. II, 145.

2. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol.II, 199-203. Badaoni; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh; Vol.II, 40. Ferishta; History of the Rise of the Mahommedan power in India; Vol.II, 204. Nizam-ud-din Ahmad; Tabaqat-i-Akbari; Vol.II, 250.

conditions. In his administration; he must follow a middle course, between harshness and laxity. His behaviour was not to be that of an accountant, who due to his narrow vision, could think only of demanding arrears and increasing the revenue[1].

According to Nizam-ud-din Ahmad and Badaoni, Todar Mal represented to Akbar that all that while he had kept Masum Khan Farrankhudi with him by various expedients and concitiatory measures, but that, the Khwaja had made him liable for payment of a large sum of arrears. And that at that critical juncture these payments were the cause of dissensions in the army[2]. Accordingly the Emperor removed Shah Mansur from office and put him under the charge of Shah Quli Mehram, and in his place appointed wazir Khan as Diwan-i-Kul[3], about the middle of August 1580 A.D.

With in a few months, however, Shah Mansu was released because it appeared that in the working of accounts and demanding of arrears, there was no fault of the Khwaja except the thought of increasing the revenue and a failure to recognize the circumstances of the time[4].

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1. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. III, 462.
2. Badaoni; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh; Vol. II, 295, Nizam-ud-din Ahmad; Tabaqat-i-Akbari; Vol.II, 539-40.
3. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. II, 462. Badaoni; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh; Vol.II, 295-296, Shah Nawaz Khan; Maathir-ul-Umara; Vol.II, Part-II, 753.
4. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. III, 480.

   Badaoni; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh; Vol.II, 298

Nodoubt, the secret of Akbar's success in evolving a strong class of nobles around him was that he chose the right man for the right job. For example Persians were generally assigned the job in the revenue department and proved they could work the best in that department. Howeer, Akbar knew that he could not bank solely on the whims of Persians and Turani nobility, therefore, he threw open the royal services to the Rajputs, other Hindus, Indian Muslims and others.

While the Emperor managed to weld together all sections of nobility into a very harmonious organisation occasionally personal and racial jealousies showed up and proved injurious to the interests of the empire. When Zain Khan Koka, a Persian failed to quell the trouble in Swad and Bajor in the expected time, Birbal and Hakim Abul Fath were sent to help him. Birbal was not on good terms with both Zain Khan and Hakim Abul Fath. The working of the mind of Birbal can be understood from what he said to his companion during his march. "It looks as if my fortune had been inverted that I should have to traverse hill and plain, with Hakim for the support of Koka when shall the things end". Birbal asserted that he was the supreme commander and not Zain Khan and refused to have consultations with him. He picked up a quarrel with Abul Fath and used abusive language. When Birbal and Abul Fath refused to listen to the guidance of Zain Khan, he relented. The resultant battle between Birbal and Afghans proved disastrous for the Mughals. Birbal lost his life along with thousands of soldiers[1].

Similarly when a Persian noble, Muzaffar Khan, was deputed to fight the Afghans, he was confronted with the jealousy of Munim Khan who was the commandant in the eastern provinces. He was compelled to retreat to Sasseram and Chaund which

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1. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol.III, 482-85.

were not his regular jagirs. His claims of success roused further jealousy in the heart of Munim Khan who not only tried to cause hindrances in the way of Muzaffar Khan but ordered him to vacate the area, and this unnerved Muzaffar Khan. However, Akbar stood by Muzaffar Khan and alloted Hajipur to him and appreciated his services[1].

Sometimes even Mughal soldiers would take the advantage of the existence of enmity between leading nobles. In Orissa, after the death of Muhammad Quli Khan, the soldiers chose Qiya Khan as their leader mainly because he was an opponent of Munim Khan. Before Raja Todar Mal could impress upon Munim Khan to distribute money to win over the soldiers, Daud[2] taking advantage of the conflict between his adversaries gave them another fight. No action was taken against Qiya Khan. Shihab-ud-Din dearly worked against the interest of the empire when Itmad Khan replaced him as governor of Gujrat. According to Abu Turab Wali[3]; he induced Muzaffar Khan Gujarati, a Persian noble, to assert his authority. According to Badaoni, Itimad Khan and Nizam-ud-din Ahmad Khan tried hard to bring Shihab-ud-Din round to forestall the onslaught of Muzaffar Khan and had to accept all the terms of Shihab-ud-Din. They offered a restore to him all his old paraganas as jagir and offered a ready money of Rs.2 Lakh. However, much time was consumed in the negotiations and Muzaffar Khan managed to conquer Ahmadabad.

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1. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. III, 141.
2. Ruler of Bengal in 1557 A.D.
3. Some people who were readily welcomed to enter Mughal service were the defectors from the enemy's camp. Itimad Khan, Mir Abu Turab Wali were a few among them.

In Jahangir's reign Mahabat Khan played a important key role in contemporary politics role. He was the greatest soldier and diplomat in the empire. During Shah Jahan's rebellion, his prestige had risen considerably as he had to be employed for putting down the rebel[1]. Jahangir promoted Mahabat Khan to the rank of 3,000 personal and 2,500 horse[2]. Mahabat Khan during Shah Jahan's result remained in the side of emperor[3]. Mahabat Khan set on negotiations with Shah Jahan through Abdulazeez, to assure Shah Jahan that if he would lead back his army without committing any further hostilties, his jagirs would be restored to him immediately on his return to Deccan. Shah Jahan marched back[4].

Mahabat Khan wrote to Jahangir about the intelligence, courage and the influence that Rashid Khan (Afghan) weilded amongs his followers. He advised the Emperor to either recall the Afghan grandee from the Deccan or to refrain from appointing Khan Zaman, a very close friend of Rashid Khan, as the commander of the border region. He expressed his fear that a conjunction between the two could result in anti-imperial activities[5]. "It was with the Sisodia Rajputs and Suktawuts that Mahabat Khan performed the 'most daring exploit' in Mughal history, making Jahangir prisoner in his own camp"[6].

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1. A.L. Srivastava; The Mughal Empire (1526-1803 A.D.); P. 294.
2. Jahangir; Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri; Vol.I, 146.
3. Francis Gladwin; History of Jahangir' P. 109.
4. Ibid; P. 113.
5. Shah Nawaz Khan; Maasir-ul-Umara; Vol. II, 600.
6. Mutmaid Khan; Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri; P. 252.

Mahabat Khan is the only instance of a noble rebelling against the emperor in the 17th century ostensibly to protect the dignity of the crown vis-à-vis the King. He was powerful enough to invade the sanctity of the imperial palace and carry off the Emperor. His life had been attempted by the ambushes of Asaf Khan and by the machinations of NurJahan and his future safety lay only in a Coup-d-etat[1].

In 1617 A.D., Mahabat Khan was appointed governor of Kabul owing, however to the predominating position and influence of Itimad-ud-daula, who was not on good terms with him, he wanted to go from Kabul to Iraq[2]. In 1620 A.D., Jahangir sent expedition against the Afghans of Bungish[3]. Mahabat Khan gained a considerable victory over the Afghans of the territory of Bungish[4].

Prince Khusro revolted in April 1606 A.D. He was joined by Hussain Beg Badakshi and his 300 valiant horse. Jahangir appointed Mahabat Khan and Mirza Ali Akbarshahi to a large force, which was to pursue Khusrau in whatever direction he might go[5].

Jahangir broke down in health and ceased to exercise real influece on the administration. Nur Jahan's influence increased in the court. Hence forward the court is

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1. R.P. Khosla; The Mughal Kingship and nobility; P. 263.

2. Shah Nawaz Khan; The Maathir-ul-Umara; Vol. II, Part-I, II

3. Francis Gladwin; The History of Jahangir; P. 88.

4. Ibid; P. 91.

5. Jahangir; Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri; Vol. I, 65.

divided into two factions the adherents of the Nur Jahan Junta and their opponents. Mahabat Khan made himself the opponent of the latter[1].

In 1622 A.D., there was a disagreement between Jahangir and the heir apparent Prince Shah Jahan and this resulted in an open war. Mahabat Khan was appointed to conduct the compaign against Shah Jahan[2]. Mahabat Khan in a short time through his efforts made the Deccan Princes join the circle of loyal and devoted adherents of the Kingdom[3].

Mahabat Khan was confidant of the emperor and he always obeyed the latter, such as Mahabat Khan was ordered to confine Ahmad Beg Khan in the fort of Ranthambhor, who had committed some faults on the journey to the Subah of Kabul after receiving the complaint from Qilij Khan, who was the commander of the army[4].

Nurjahan in alliance with her brother Asaf Khan, who was equally jealous of Mahabat Khan, framed charges of disloyality or disobedience against him. An imperial farman was issued asing him to send to court the elephants, he was sand to have obtained in Bihar and Bengal during Shah Jahan's revolt. And to furnish an account of the large sums of money said to have been collected by him from dispossessed jagirdars in the two provinces. "If he failed to comply, he was to be recalied to court without delay.Mahabat

1. Beni Prasad; The History of Jahangir; P. 194.
2. Shah Nawaz Khan; The Maathir-ul-Umara; Vol. II. Part I, II.
3. Ibid; 12.
4. Jahangir; Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri; Vol.I, 24.

Khan saw through the game and felt that NurJahan's plan was to disgrace him and to reduce him to dust[1].

Mahabat Khan wrote to Nur Jahan that as long as Asaf Khan remained at court, he dared not obey her summons. If she really wished to avail herself of his services, she must send Asaf Khan to Bengal[2].

Mahabat Khan marched towards the court with four or five thousand Rajputs. He took their families also as hostages to ensure fidelity in face of the threats and temptatons which were sure to be held out by the Government[3]. Secondly Khan's prospective son-in-law was treated with insult Mahabat Khan had affianced his daughter to Burkhurdar, son of Khawaja Umar Naqshbandi, without first obtaining the customary royal permision. Mahabat Khan's dowry to Barkharidar was forfeited to the state[4].

Jahangir had left Kashmir and was on his way to Kabul in March 1626 A.D. He as encamped on the bank of the Jhelum, when Mahabat Khan had arrived in the vicinity of the camp[5]. Jahangir sent him a message that Mahabat Khan could not be allowed to pay his respects until Mahabat Khan had satisfied the king's demands. Jahangir also heard that Asaf Khan had made a plan for imprisioning him. Asaf Khan had arranged when Mahabat Khan would come to pay his respect, the king would take his hand and put him into boat and take him with him. The bridge would be broken down and his men would

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1. Jahangir; Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri; Vol.I, 279.
2. Francis Gladwin; The History of Jahangir; P. 106-107.
3. Ibid; P. 391-392.
4. Ibid; P. 392-393.
5. Beni Prasad; The History of Jahangir; P. 392.

be unable to accompany him[1]. According to the plan, when the royal army was encamped on the bank of the Jhelum, Asaf Khan crossed the river with the whole army, including Kings' personal servants, by the bridge and halted without taking any measures for security. Mahabat Khan regarded it as a great boon and sent 1,000 cavalry to guard the head of the bridge Mahabat Khan himself went to the quarters of Shahriyar and Davar Baksh and took them with him. He broke open the entrance to the enclosure (Gulal) and entered the King's apartment[2].

Surrounding the camp, Mahabat Khan made Jahangir a prisoner, while Nur jahan managed to escape[3]. She straight went to her brother Asaf Khan and summoned a council of all the principal amirs and officers. She said, "Ali this has happened through our neglect and stupid arrangements. You must do your best to repair this evil and advise what course to pursue"[4].

Mahabat Khan had declared that he was trying to defend the Crown against the king who had damaged it by allowing others to usurp the royal prerogative[5]. Jahangir had allowed Nur Jahan to exercise many of the royal prerogative[6] e.g. Nur Jahan's name was

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1. Shah Nawaz Khan; The Maathir-ul-Umara; Vol. II, Part-I, 15. There is no mention of the plan by Mutamad Khan in his Iqbal Nama-i-Jahangiri. Khafi Khan also nowhere talks in his works about any such plan.
2. Shah Nawaz Khan; The Maasir-ul-Umara; Vol. II, Part-I, 16.
3. S.M. Edwards and Garrett; Mughal Rule in India; S. Chand, Delhi, 1956, P. 64.
4. Beni Prasad; The History of Jahangir; P. 397.
5. R.P. Khosla; Mughal Kingship and nobility; P. 263.
6. Ibid; P. 262.

inscribed on the coin. She sat on the Jharokha to be seen by the subjects. So according to Mahabat Khan such a state of affairs was dangerous to the loyal and faithful subjects of the crown.

Many attempts were made by Nur Jahan to free Jahangir from Mahabat Khan. But unsuccessful in her attempts, she herself voluntarily surroundered to Mahabat Khan and was allowed to join the emperor[1]. Asaf Khan alone held out at Attock, which was in his fief and then entrenched himself. Mahabat Khan himself went to attack and by promise and oaths got possession of Asaf Khan with his son Abu Talib and Khalil Khan, the son of Mir Miran[2]. Now Mahabat Khan took the political and financial administration into his own hands and assumed supreme power[3].

After completing arrangements for Hindustan, Mahabat Khan made the emperor resume the journey to Kabul in his company. At Attock Abdul Khaliq, nephew of Khwaja Shamsuddin Mohammad Khwaja and Mohammad Taqi, once the Paymaster (Bakhshi) of Shah Jahan, were put to death on account of their close attachment to Asaf Khan[4].

When Jahangir was encamped in Afghanistan a quarrel arose at Jahangir's instigation between a number of Ahadis and Rajputs about the grazing ground. In the scuffle an Ahadi lost his life. Every Rajput who had gone out to forge was killed by the villagers, some were taken prisoners and sold. Mahabat Khan himself rode out to there

1. Beni Prasad; The History of Jahangir; P. 403.

2. Shah Nawaz Khan; Maasir-ul-Umara; Vol. II, Part I, 18.

3. Ibid; 18.

4. Beni Prasad; History of Jahangir; P. 404.

assistance but could not maintain his ground in the tumult. Jahangir sent the Kotwal to quell the disturbance and to pacify Mahabat Khan, some of the Ahadis were made over to him but his old supremacy disappeared. This incident weakened his position further[1].

After having consolidated her position, Nurjahan played the final card which liberated Jahangir from the clutches of Mahabat Khan. NurJahan's eunuch joined with 2,000 cavalry from Lahore according to the Begum's orders. Prince Shah Jahan advanced from Nasik to Ajmer and proceeded to Thatha. An order was issued to Mahabat Khan that he should immediately pursue the Jaisalmer route to Thata: Prince Shah Jahan came from Deccan, Mahabat Khan was over come by fear and agitation, released Asaf Khan[2].

On pretance of receiving the troops. Jahangir placed himself at the head of the imperial army, and Mahabat feeling that his domination was at an end, left the place for Lahore. Thus his reign of hundred days was over[3].

Soon after, Jahangir died. Shah Jahan ascended the throne Shah Jahan gave him the title of Khan-i-Khanan Sipahasalar and the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horses. also gave him a present of 4 lacs of rupees and appointed him governor of Ajmer. In the same year Mahabat Khan was appointed governor of the Deccan. Mahabat Khan's son Khan Zaman who had recently been made Governor of Malwa was nominated as his deputy[4].

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1. Shah Nawaz Khan; The Maasir-ul-Umara; Vol. II, Part I, 18.
2. Ibid; 18.
3. Shah Nawaz Khan; The Maasir-ul- Umara; Vol.II, Part I, 18.
4. Shah Nawaj Khan; The Maasir-ul-Umara; Vol.II, Part-Im 20-21.

Mahabat Khan tried to vindicate the dignity of the crown against the king. His motive, he said, "was an attack, not on the prerogative, but upon its abuse by irresponsible persons who had obtained an undue influence over the Emperor". Mahabat Khan's act was an effort to serve the king from his queen, though he knew that what he did was not in accordance with the king's dignity or his wishes[1].

Persians had an advantage in Hindustan, because the Muslims were fewer and the Shia-Sunni bitterness less keen in their new home. The regency of Bairam Khan in a Sunni Sultanate indicates a high water mark of the Shia influence at court. However this influence was not at the beginning aggressive and intolerable to the Sunnis, because in a Sunni country, the Shia could accomodate himself by outward conformity with the Sunni practice without incurring any sin if his mental reservation for Shiaism was genuine if not open[2]. Under the Mughal Empire, the Persians could be trusted in any position on except

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1. R.P. Khosla; Mughal Kingship and Nobility; P. 262.

2. Tqiyyah ('fear, 'Caution', or piouns subterfuge). Whenever the Shias are in a minority they practice, if necessary, taqiyyah i.e., they as though they were Sunnis. A Shia may even Vilify his own sect, if his personal safety requires it. The justificaitlon for it, is sought in a passage from the Quran. It was used as a weapon by the Shi-ites in their constant propaganda against the Umayyads. It consists in the use of words with a double meaning or in mental reservation. See. Hughes, Dictionary of Islam, S.V. Travernier observes : "It is true that although they(i.e. Persian) regarded the Sunnis with horror they nevertheless fallow, in out ward show, the religion of the Monarch, believing that to make or secure their fortune they might conceal their true belief, and that it sufficed for them to cherish it in their hearts" Vol.II, 176.

in fighting against Persia[1].

The Persians were fortune hunters, who had accompanied the ranks of Babar and his successors[2] in large numbers, and their successes at the Mughal court had induced many others to follow in their footsteps. Their ability and fidelity had recommended them to the highest posts of trust and importance, and , though lesser in number than Turani people," were in possession of the most important offices in the kingdom, and exercised the largest share of influence at the court of the Mughal"[3]. They had Physicians, poets, lawyers, soldiers and other professional classes in their ranks. They professed the Shia form of Islam and were strongly attached to it, but being in minorty and by virtue of serving the state which strictly adhered to the sunni sect, the rival of Shiaism, they often played hpocrites to please their masters[4].

Though the Persians, great or small, serving the Mughal Empire with greatest skill and faithfulness, always tried and entertained, "a vain and overweeing desire to exalt their nation", and owed allegiance to their, natural king, the Shah of Persia. For the

1. Lahori; Badshahnama; Vol.II, 563.
2. Humayun came some what under the Shia influence. On his return from Persia, the Persians followed in his train in large numbers. This was resented by the orthodox section of his followers. Badaoni; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh; Vol.I, 468.
3. Bernier; Bernier Travels; P.9.
4. "............and they (i.e. Persians) themselves to please the king (i.e. Aurangzeb) and advance their own fortunes, made no scruple about coforming themselves externally to the cult and customs of the Sunnmis", Travernier; The travels in India; Vol. II, 177.

attitude of the Persians in India when as embassy from Persia visited the court of Shahjahan. They spread false rumours and invented anecdotes giving credit to the Shah of Persia and his subjects[1].

According to Manucci, the Persians always favoured their nation in the empire of the Great Mughal and disploayed a sort of clannishness which prevented themselves from merging with the other classes of people[2]. They (Persinas) were most doubted when engaged against the ruler of Iran[3] and the suspicion came to be true on more than one occasion[4]. One of the main reasons for the failure of Qandhar expeditions for its reduction which was attempted thrice during the reign of Shahjahan, was the lack of co-operation among the Persian contingent and officers, who had a secret sympathy with the Shah of Persia

Among the sons of Shahjahan, Shah Shuja favoured the Persians most. Upon them he relied in the pre-ordained fight for the masnad of Delhi against the Sunni champion, Aurangzeb. He invited a large number of Persians from Iran and took them with him to Bengal. There in the capital city of Dacca he settled them in such a large number that Dacca during his viceroyalty became veritably a Shia city. Aurangzeb's first viceroy of Bengal, Mir Jumla, was Persian[5]. The result was that there arose a second Lucknow in Bengal, namely, the city of Dacca, if judged by the number, influence and

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1. Bernier; Bernier's Travels in the Mughal Empire; P. 146-153.
2. Manucci; Storia to Mogor; Vol. II, 550-53.
3. Bernier; Bernier's Travels in the Mughal empire; P. 185.
4. Bernier; Bernier Travels; P. 184.
5. He is responsible for building numerous buildings in East Bengal. See. Maasir-i-Alamgiri; text, P. 368.

importance of Persian emigrants[1]. Though in its last gasp, Shiaism is stil professed there openly by the descendants of ancient families[2].

When no political objective was to be gained, for example, the conciliation of Mir Jumla, Aurangzeb heartily hated the Persians on the ground of their Schism and styled them as heretics (Rafizis)[3], corpse eating demons (ghul-i-bayabani), and misbelievers (batil mazhaban)[4]. However, he was not slow to recognize merit, as he

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1. Lucknow is the seat of Shiaism till today.
2. Hakim Habib-ur-Rahman Khan; Asudan-i-Dacca; gives a good account of Shia mohallas, Imambaras, and Husaini Dalan of Dacca. vide Muhammad Yasin; A social History of Islamic India; P. 8.
3. From Rafz; literally meaning "forsaking" The term Rafizi was originally applied to the Shias who joined zaid Ibn Ali but forsook him upon his refusing to curse Abu Bakr and 'Umar, the first two Khalifas, but it came afterwards to denote any sect of Shias.See Hughes; Dictionary of Islam; art. Rafizi.
4. For Aurangzib's hatred and aversion towards the shias. See Massir-i-Almagiri, Sarkar's translation, P. 190. In one of his letters he quotes with admiration the story of a Sunni who escaped to Turkey after murdering a Shia at Isfahan, and draws from it the moral, "whoever acts for truth and speaks up for truth, is befriended by the True God". In another letter he tells us how he liked the naming of a dagger as the "Shia-salyer" (Rafizkush), and ordered some more of the same name to be made for him. Vide Jadunath Sarkar; Studies in Aurangzeb's Reign; P. 15.

expressly declared : " what connections have earthly affairs with religion, and what right have administrative works to meddle with bigotry? For you is your religion and for me is mine....... Wise men disapprove of the removal of able officers from office[1]", though his uncompromising partiality for the orthodox Islam acted as a barrier in giving fair play to his judgement. He has bequeathed to the posterity an estimate of the Persians as a legacy which affords a real insite into character. While comparing the Persian and Turani people he says, "The Turani people......, who are brethren from the same city as that of my ancestors, ---according to the saying 'Don't throw yourself into destruction with your own hands;--do not think it a Shame to retreat in the very thick of the battle.... The Persians, whether born in vilayat (i.e. Persia) or in Hindustan....., are a hundred stages removed from this sort of movement[2]". At another place he remarked :

> "Without (being charged with) prejudice and enmity, we may say that as the sun is the guardian planet of the Persians, the intellectual keeness of those men in quickness of perception and foresight is four times as great as that of the Indians[3], whose tutelary planet is Saturn. Their only defect is that by reason of conjunction with Venus, they have grown ease loving......that you should be on your guard against the great cunning of the Persians and never submit to their (seemningly) overtures, as that would only prove your lack of sagacity[4]".

Therefore, we may conclude. that the Persians were Valiant men[5] and always true

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1. Jadunath Sarkar; Ahkam-i-Alamgiri; M.C. Sarkar and sons, Calcutta, 1949, P. 99.
2. Jadunath Sarkar; Ahkam-i-Alamgiri; P. 99.
3. But the Persians born in India were noted for their gross stupidity. Ibid, P. 100. For Persian quickness of wit. See Badaoni; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh; Vol. III, 393.
4. Jadunath Sarkar; Ahkam-i-Alamgiri; P. 118.
5. Edward Terry observes, "There are of both these (i.e. Tartars and Persians) many during, stout, hardy, and Valiant men-For the Persians, there are of them many comely persons, not so swarthy as those of East India". P. 121.

to the salt of their master except when the interest of the Indian Empire collided with that of Persia, the land of their ancestors. Bernier says that the Mughals were compelled to engage Pathans and Rajputs because the Persians

> "Shudder at the idea of fighting against their natural King (the Shah of Persia) especially because they acknowledge him as their Iman. In the case of Persia though the Chaghtai Sovereigns gave expression to feelings of amity and gaud will, and though this attitude is sufficient evidence to show that they were jealous and distrustful of each other. The court of Persia, on its part, so far as possible, never recognised the high sounding titles of the Indian rulers and displayed, as it was a patronising attitude towards them. In the contemporary correspondence they repeatedly refer to the help which Shah Tahmasp extended to Humayun. In contrast to this, the Mughal Emperors regarded themselves as superior to the Shah, because the extent of their territories was larger, and by reputation their wealth was greater"[1].

Bernier and Travernier bear out this fact by saying that the position of the Persions remained unchanged during the reign of Aurangzeb. However, the fact remains that Aurangzeb was quite apprehensive of the growing influence of this group for he tried to limit their power by promoting the Turani nobles. Yet at the end of his reign the Persians were still the most powerful group consisting 50 percent of the strength of the nobility. It is note worthy that a large number of Persian nobles sided with Prince Aurangzeb during the war of succession. Out of 124 nobles of 1,000 and above, who are known to have supported Aurangzeb up to the battle of Samugarh, 27 were Persians, 4 of them holding rank of 5,000 Zat and above.As against this, 23 out of 87 of Dara Shukoh's supporters were Persians.After all, Mir Jumla and Shaisha Khan, the leading Persian nobles, were Aurangzeb's partisans. Similarly there did not seem to be much weight in Bernier's statement that Prince Shuja was supported by Persians. Only one of his ten

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1. Bernier; Bernier Travels; P. 210. Inayat Khan; Shahjahannama; ed and completed by W.E. Begley and Z.A. Desai, Delhi, 1968, P. 105.

known supporters, holding rank of 1,000 zat and above, was Persian[1].

It was about 1666 A.D. that Aurangzeb began to adopt a policy which, if not directly opposed to , was at least different inspirit from that of his predecessors. Before investigating how this change came about, it is necessary to examine briefly the political situation after 1666A.D. First, in 1666 A.D. after Shahjahan's death, there was no one to substitute Aurangzeb and his fears of any future opposition within the nobility probably vanished.Second, it was clear that the reckless policy of expanison begun in 1659 A.D. had proved a complete faiture. A Persian noble, Mir Jumla's invasion of Assam ended in a hopeless retreat, while the annexation of Kuch Bihar had to be abondoned. Another Persian noble Shaista Khan's compaign an Moharashtra ended with the plunder of his own camp and Shivaji's sack of Surat in 1664 A.D. With these successive features. the Emperors attempt at expansion was brought to a halt at least for the time being and a period o rebellion began[2].

Since 1590 A.D. the Mughal Empire had been almost continuously involved in operations against the Deccan states. Mahabat Khan, a Persian noble's cynicism about

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1. Bernier; Travels in the Mughal Empire; P. 8,26. Athar Ali; The Mughal nobility under Aurangzeb; P. 19.
2. The Jat rebellion under Gokula broke out in the Braj Country in the mid sixties. The Satnamies rebelled in 1672 A.D. and their early successes were surprising. In 1667 A.D. the Yusufzais revolted near Peshawar, in 1672 A.D. the Afrids also rebelled and Aurangzeb had ot go to Hasan Abdal in 1674 A.D. In 1670 A.D, Shivaji again opened war against the Mughals and sacked Surat for the second time. See Athar Ali; The Mughal nobility under Aurajgzeb; P. 98.

the imperial efforts in the Deccan is revealed by an anecdote recorded by Khafi Khan. The Emperor once said to Jafar Khan (Persian) and Mahabat Khan that it was necessary to crush Shivaji. Mahabat Khan retorted that there was no need for an army being sent against Shivaji, as judgement (fatwa) of the Qazi would Suffice[1]. In 1671 A.D. it was reported to the emperor that Mahabat Khan had a secret alliance with Shivaji and was not exerting himself against the Marathas. He was, therefore, replaced by Bahadur Khan Kokaltash[2].

In the case of Golkunda, the Persian Nobles were suspected of sympathising with Qutb Shah on account of their Shi'ite beliefs. It was alleged that the Persian nobles at the Mughal court were not pressing the siege of Golkunda vigorously[3]. However opposition to the destruction of Golkunda was not confined to the Persians alone. Aurangzeb asked his chief qazi, Shaikhul Islam, for his opinion about the war against Golkunda and Bijapur. The Qazi refused to attribute to it the character of a jihad; he was consequently asked to go to Haj. Qazi Abdullah, who was appointed in place of Shaikhul Islam, remarked one day that it would be better to conclude a treaty with Golkunda as it would avoid the unnecessary blood shed of Muslims; Aurangzeb got annoyed and Qazi Abdullah was ordered not to come to the court and to confine himself to his judicial duties[4].

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1. Khafi Khan; Muntakhab-ul-Lubab; Vol. II, 216-17.
2. Athar Ali; The Mughal nobility under Aurangzeb; P. 104.
3. Bernier; Bernier's Travels; P. 2111. Niamat Khan Ali through his satirical account of the siege of Golkunda leaves us in no doubt where his symathies lay.
4. Athar Ali; The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb; P. 105.

In Aurangzeb's last years the leading Persian nobles, were Asad Khan and his son Zulfiqar Khan. Asad Khan and Zulfiqar Khan believed—or gradually came to believe—in the necessity of placating the Marathas and saving Mughal authority in the Deccan through a settlement with them. In 1698 A.D. Zulfiqar Khan captured Jinji, but Rajaram escaped-or was allowed to escape[1]. Only a year earlier Zulfiqar had forwarded a proposal from Rajaram for a settlement to Aurangzeb, but Aurangzeb was not prepared to entertain it[2].

In 1705 A.D. when Aurangzeb was hard pressed at Wakinkera, Zulfiqar was summoned along with his officers. The arrival of Zulfiqar Khan changed the situation and the fort fell after a short time Aurangzeb, however, suspected that it was due to Zulfiqar Khan and Rao Dalpat's intrigues that the Maratha forces escaped un hurt. Later on when Aurangzeb wanted to sow dissension among the Marathas, he handed over Shahu to Zulfiqar Khan to enable him to negotiate with the Maratha Sardars[3]. Shahu was also given the rank of 7,000/7,000 and the title of Raja. Zulfiqar Khan wrote conciliatory letters to the Maratha Sardars and asked them to join Shahu, but there was no positive response on their part. Zulfiqar Khan's attempt at placating the Marathas was also noted by a French observer, Francois Martin, who thought he was seeking to strengthen himself

1. This aroused Aurangzeb displeasure. Athar Ali; <u>The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb</u>; P. 110.

2. <u>Ibid</u>; P. 110.

3. Manucci; <u>Storia to Mogor</u>; Vol.III, 498-99.

by this alliance[1]. Daud Khan Panni, a bosom friend of Zulfiqar Khan, had a secret agreement with the Marathas and did not try to crush them when he was governors of Karnatik in 1705 A.D.[2].

Persian nobility enjoyed a dominating position in the state politcs from 1707-1739 A.D. The most influential and powerful Persian nobles from the period 1707 A.D. till the invasion of Nadir Shah 1739 A.D. were Zulfiqar Khan, Asad Khan and Saadat Khan Burhan-ul-Mullk.Zulfiqar Khan took the side of Azam[3] and helped him against his brother Muazzam after the death of Aurangzeb (1707 A.D.). Zulfiqar Khan was a successful general of the time and had acquired tremendous prestige and influence. His efforts to secure a settlement with the Maratha and his close association with the Bundedla and Hara Rajput chiefs was not without significance. It is believed that Azam lost in the battle of Jaju because Zulfiqar Khan left the battle field and did not support Azam fully. Zulfiqar Khan's refusal to stand by the side of Azam till the end has been adversely commented upon by a number of contemporary observers, some of whom go far as to make his flight the chief cause of Azam's defeat. Thus, Danishmand Khan and Bhimsen take the view that "if Nusarat Jang as required by his loyalty, had joined

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1. Francois Martin, trans as India in the 17th century : Social, Economic and Political 1670-94, Vol. II, Part-I, 102.

2. Manucci; Storia to Mogor; Vol.IV, 228-29.

3. Bahadur Shah conferred the post of the viceroy of the six subahas of the Deccan upon Zulfiqar Khan informed all the officers posted in Deccan that "the binding and loosening of the affairs of the Deccan would depend upon the advice of the Mir-Bakhshi, and that he would be responsible for all its affairs" Satish Chandra; Party and Politics of the Mughal court; P. 43, 297.

actively with the other leaders in the attack and had even for a little while held his own in the battle, all the difficulties which fell on Azam Shah would never have happened"[1].

It is stated that at this time Zulfiqar Khan sent a message to Muhammad Azam Shah to the effect that such misfortunes had happened previously also. Wise generals do not neglect opportunities.The Prince should withdraw, and consider the best way of repairing the defeat. Muhammad Azam Shah got angry[2] Zulfiqar Khan, attached himself to Jahandar Shah, the eldest son of Bahadur Shah, after his death because Azim-Ush-Shah was not friendly towards him. And having succeeded in making the other brothers favourable to Jahandar Shah, he fought against and defeated Azim-Ush-Shah who in regard to the quantity of treasure and the number of soldiery and followers was far ahead of his brothers[3].

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1. Satish Chandra; Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court; P. 17-18. Willian Irvine; Later Mughals; Vol. I , 30.
2. William Irvine; Later Mughals; Vol. I, P. 37,39. Prince Azam said to Zulfiqar Khan, "Your heroism has been tested Go whereever you like to save your life. I shall not desert the battlefield". Later, Bahadur Shah who was a compact of kindness and generosity, showed extra ordinary favours and kindness to Zulfiqar Khan, and promoting him to the rank of 7,000 foot with 7,000 horse, honoured him with rthe title of Samsam-ud-Daulah Amir-ul-Umara Bahadur Nusrat Jang, and added the governorship of Deccan to his appointment.as the Bakhshi.
3. Shah Nawaz Khan; Maathir-ul-Umara; Vol.II, Part 2. 1038.

Zulfiqar Khan by wiles and trickery, and by proposing a division of the territory made Rafi-ush-Shah and Jahan Shah to unite whole heartedly with Jahandar Shah[1]. It was however, after 1707 A.D. that Zulfiqar Khan became too powerful so far as the interests of the Mughal Empire were concerned. Even in 1712 A.D. all the powers remained in the hands of Zulfiqar Khan and even Emperor (Jahandar Shah) was guided by Zulfiqar Khan in all matters relating to war and peace. In 1713 A.D. after Jahandar's murder in the battle with Farukhshiar, Zulfiqar Khan was also treacherously put to death by FarukhShiar.

Asad Khan treated with honour by Prince Muhammad Azim Shah[2]. When the prince left Gwalior in order to fight with Bahadur Shah he left him with the baggage, when Azim got victory over Bahadur Shah, he with regard to Asad Khan's, long service and his confindential position and summoned him to court. He contributed more in administration.

Another Persian noble, Mirza Safavi Khan Ali Naqi[3] accompanied Muhammad

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1. He also obtained form all three the confirmation of vazirship in his own name. He remarked that the uniting of three Kings was not strange, but one vazir for all three kingdoms was certainly extra ordinary. See. Shah Nawaz Khan; Massir-ul-Umara; Vol. III, 1033.

2. Asad Khan was made Mir Bakhshi in 1671 - 1676 A.D. of Aurangzeb's reign on the death of Lashkar Khan. In Shahjahan's reign he was favourite on account of his perosnal beauty and external accomplishment. Jamshid; Ruqqat-i-Alamgiri or Letters of Aurangzeb; P. 37.

3. He was related to the Safavi Kings. In the 47th year of Emperor Aurangzeb's reign he came to India. Shah Nawaz Khan; Maathir-ul-Umara; Vol. I, 664.

Azam Shah from Deccan to upper India, and was in the centre in the battle against Bahadur Shah[1].

After the death of Zulfiqar Khan and Asad Khan, the invasion of Persian adventurer Nadir Shah in 1739 A.D.; Persian nobility took a new turn at the time of invasion, the powerful Persian nobles at the Mughal court were Amir Khan, Ishaq Khan and Saadat Khan Burhan-ul-mulk[2]. It was a common belief that Nadir Shah was invited to invade the country by Saadat Khan. However, in the absence of any documentary proof it cannot be definitely established that Nadir Shah was invited by Saadat Khan or by any other section at the court. Saadat Khan took part in the battle between Muhammad Shah and Sultan Ibrahim, eldest, son of Sultan Rafi-ush-Shan, whom Qutbu-i-Mulk (Saiyid Abdullah the elder of the Braha brothers) had raised up (as emperor), after the assassination of Husain Ali. After the victory Saadat Khan had the title of Burhan-ul-Mulk Bahadur jang and was made Subahder of Agra. In the reign of Muhammad Shah in 1739 A.D. when Nadir Shah came to India and the emperor went to Karnal to engage him, Burhan-ul-Mulk had fallen behind, but by long marches he brought himself on. As his baggage was behind and on the road, the Persian army, on learning this, made a rapid movement and fell on it. As soon as Burhan-ul-Mulk heard of this, he, inspite of the porhibition of the emperor and his advisers, acted hastily and went off fight with the Persians with the force that he had with him. They turned back and he went in pursuit, and then they joined with other troops and turned round and assailed him. He was

1. Battle of Jajuu, 18th June, 1707 Ibid; Vol.I, 665.

2. His name was Muhammad Amin, and he belonged to the Musavi Saiyids of Nishapur. Shah Nawaz Khan; Maathir-ul-Umara; Vol. II, 4-6.

wounded, and by chance the elephant of Nisar Muhammad Khan sher Jang his brother's son was '<u>mast</u>' and ran at his elephant and drove it into the Persian army. There was no means of stopping him so that Burhan-ul-Mulk was made priosner. After that he became an opportunist and impressed upon Nadir Shah the weakness of Muhammad Shah, and it was agreed he sould cause the giving of a large sum from the capital[1]. After that an arrangement was made between Nadir Shah and Muhammad Shah[2].

Thus while the direct role of the groups or individuals in Persians nobility in inviting Nadir Shah the Persian ruler to invade India, has yet to fully evidenced, their furthering the above cause even if unwittingly and solely directed by the petty court politics, cannot be denied.

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1. He became disgusted by hearing that he had been supreseded. Shah Nawaz Khan; <u>Maathir-ul-Umara;</u> Vol. I, 427.
2. Burhan-ul-Mulk was ordered to go with Tahmasp. Jalair to Delhi. On 9th March 1739 A.D., both kings came to the city and on the night of 10th March, Burhan –ul-Mulk died of his former wounds. Shah Nawaz Khan, <u>Maasir-ul-Umara</u>, Vol. I, 427. The <u>Siyar-i- Mutakherin</u> says nothing about Burhan's being wounded or of his dying of his wounds. It speaks of him a Saadat Khan and says he died of a cancer in his foot, Vol. I, 316.

CHAPTER 5

Persian Nobility and Economy

Persian nobility played a significant role in the economy of the Mughal period under two broad categories i.e. their contribution in for improvement of the land revenue system – the central revenue was derived from commerce, mind, presents, inheritance, salt, customs and land of these the land revenue was the most lucrative and important; The contribution of Persian nobles like Mir Fatehullah Shirazi[1]. Itmad-ud-daulah, Muzaffar Khan[2]. Asaf Khan, Murshid Quli Khan[3] in the management and administration of revenue and general economy needs to be reassessed. Secondly in the context of their role of traders and patrons of 'Karkhanas' and organizers of 'Bazars', capital and market[4]. Persian nobles took interest in trade activities. They contributed substantially to the capital that was needed by the merchant to carry on sea borne trade[5]. The external

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1. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. III, 687-693.
2. Badaoni; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh; Vol. II, 64. Nizam-ud-din Ahmad; Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II. 279-280.
3. Moosvi; Economy of the Mughal Empire; Delhi. 1987, P. 194. Jadunath Sarkar; Historty of Aurangzeb; Vol. I, 189-193.
4. Athar Ali; The Mughal nobility under Aurangzeb; P. 92. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. III, 848.
5. U.N. Day; Mughal Government; P. 201. Jagdish Narayan Sarkar; The life of Mir Jumla; P. 44.

trade monopolies of Persian nobles like Asaf Khan, Mir Jumla and others require comprehensive evaluation[1]. Asaf Khad during the reign of Jahangir had vast commercial interests and traded on his own account through which he succeeded kin amasing fabulous wealth[2]. Mir Jumla had been a business man before entering imperial service. He had a number of ships which carried on his trade between Arrakan, Southern India and Persia[3]. Persians role in internal trade by .the likes of Shaista Khan and Bakhtawar Khan is also significant. It is true that the ideas of the nobles concerning industry never went beyond 'Karkhanas' employing artisans at low rates for satisfying their own need for luxries[4] rather than a growth on improvement in techniques of mass production. The biographbical material available for the Persian nobility is extensive, but examples of men of mercantile origin are hard to find[5].

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1. Tapan Ray Chaudhri and Irfan Habib; eds; The Cambridge Economic History of India; Vol. I, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1982, 182.
2. U.N. Day; Mughal Government, P. 200. Jagdish Narayan Sarkar; Studies in Economic life in Mughal India; oriental Publishers, New Delhi, 1975, P. 184.
3. U.N. Day; Mughal Government; P. 201. Athar Ali; The Mughal nobility under Aurangzeb; P. 156.
4. Jadunath Sarkar; Studies in Mughal India; M.C. Sarkar and sons, Calcutta, 1919, P. 153. Tapan Ray Chaudhri and Irfan Habib, eds. The Cambridge Economic History of India; Vol. I, 182-183. Athar Ali; The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb; P. 156.
5. U.N. Day; The Mughal Government; P.113. Irfan Habib; The Cambridge Economic History of India; P. 380.

The system of granting Jagirs to the Persian as well as other nobles had been in vogue for centuries, in European as well as Asian countries though often varying in its basics. While the European feudal lords held land on hereditary basis, their Mughal counterparts were given only revenue assignments of areas or Jagirs in return for their services to the state and could be transferred from one Jagir to another[1].

Persian nobles contributed a lot in revenue department. With a few exceptions the office of centeral finance minister always devolved upon them[2]. The significance of the office of Chief Diwan in context of Mughal revenue system as well as his position can hardly be over emphasized[3]. Persian Shias whose genius had shown brilliantly in the revenue department alike, and who had made the reigns of Akbar and Shah Jahan

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1. R. S. Sharma; Early Indian Feudalism B. C. (400-1200 A.D.); S. A. Q. Husaini; Early Muslims fiefs in India; ed. by Horst Kruger. Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf; An Indian scholar and Revalutionery, P. 38-43 and 41-61.
2. Abul Fazl; Ain-i-Akbari; Vol. I, 165.
3. Ibn Hasan; The central structure of the Mughal Empire; P. 205-206 Ibn Hasan has very aptly sumed up the position of the Chief Diwan when he says that " As the head of the revenue department, he had his eye upon every officer of the state, who drew his salary from the Jagir. As the Chief Executive officer of the State, in addition to his revenue powers, he had control over provinces and provincial officers from the Governor to the amin and the Patwari. As finance minister, he had his fingers upon every rupee (dam) that reached the royal treasury and went out of it. thus, his three-fold duties kept him in thouch with all the three departments of the central government besides his own, with armies and nobles, whether holding office or not and with every part of the provincial administration. It was this general supervision which definitely gave him the first position among the Ministers of the state".

glorious[1]. Asaf Khan charged with the duty of organising the revenue administration. By taking advantage of the rent roll figures (Jama-i-Wilayat) recorded in kind, that is, in various kinds of grains (ragami) and not in dams or rupees – a practice which had come down from the time of Bairam Khan, he over-valued or some times even under – valued at will the assigned lands that were given to officers in lieu of their salaries. The Empire at that time was small and consisted of Punjab, Delhi, Agra, Allahabad and Awadh, but the number of officers to be paid by assignments of land was large. Asaf Khan consequently inflated the cash the cash valuation of assignment by recording them in various kinds of grain in order to satisfy the assignees[2], which was a very unwise device, and caused dissatisfaction. Moreover, the main problem of assessment was still left untouched by Asaf Khan. He allowed the old schedule of crop-rates of the time of Sher Shah to remain inforce. An attempt was also made, roughly to fix the revenue of the various Sarkars and to ascertain the prices of food stuffs, but no appreciative success was achieved[3]. Asaf Khan was not able to reorgasnise the finance department and his inept handling, made the confusion worse confunded. He was transferred as the collector of Kara in 1562 A.D.

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1. Abul Fazl; Ain-i-Akbari; Vol.I, 364. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. II, 276. W.H. Moreland; The Agrarian system of Muslim India; P. 80.

2. Abul Fazl; Aveen Akbari or the Institutes of the Emperor Akbar, Vol. I, trans. From Persian by Francis Gladwinin 3 Vols., Calcutta. 1783, 365.

3. Ishwari Prasad; A short History of Muslim rule in India; the Indian press ltd., Allahabad, 1939, P. 326.

Muzaffar Khan Turbati was a Diwan-i-kul from 1563-1572 A.D. Within a year of the creation of Diwanship of Khalisah, a step taken by Akbar, was the appointment of a full fledged revenue and finance minister (Diwan-i-Kul), who was incharge of both Khalisah and Jagir territories. This pertigious office went to Muzaffar Khan, a Persian noble, who was the first chief Diwan under Akbar[1]. This event is significant in the sense that the appointment of Muzaffar Khan gave an effective blow to the power and prectige of the Vakil. Muzaffar Khan had a practical knowledge of revenue administration in the country, and besides having worked under Bairam Khan as his Diwan, he had also rendered useful service to Akbar in the capacity of collector of Pasrur and subsequently as Superintendent of Imperial stores (Diwan-i-Bayutat). Hence, he was well acquainted with the machinery of the central government as it then stood[2]. Muzaffar Khan's choice without any high connections or recommendations was a sufficient testimony of the ability and capacity which must have impressed Akbar. Muzaffar Khan served as the Chief Diwan, with Munim Khan as the Vakil and Khwaja Jahan as the Superintendent of Treasury and the keeper of the seal. In 1564 A.D. when Akbar led an expedition to Malwa, he took Munim Khan with him and left the affairs of the government under

1. Badaoni; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh; Vol. II, 64. Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, Tabaqat-i-Akbari; Vol. II, 279-280. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama, Vol. II, 305-306. Abul Fazl; Ain-i-Akbari; Vol. I, 373.

2. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. II, 306. Muzaffar Khan was a partisan of Bairam Khan and after the latter's fall, he was imrisoned by Akbar.

Muzaffar Khan[1], and Khwaja Jahan. This step was necessary to give the new minister a free hand and full scope for work. In 1564 A.D., the appointment of Persian noble Muzaffar Khan Turbati as Diwan-i-Kul and as with whom Todar Mal was also associated. The Ministry aimed at improving matters. Muzaffar Khan set aside the exaggerated assessments of the time of Bairam Khan[2]. However, the two could not pull on well. The only achievement was to bring to the notice of the Emperor that the Jama-i-Raqmi prepared by Abdul Majid Asaf Khan was unreliable and required to be replaced by another[3].

An able financer, Muzaffar Khan soon acquired power and influence. It was on his recommendation that Shaikh Abdun Nabi was appointed Sadar in 1565 A.D[4]. In 1566 A.D. the Vakil was completely eclipsed by the Chief Diwan. When Akbar marched against Mirza Muhammad Hakim in the Punjab, Munim Khan was left incharge of Agra, but Muzaffar Khan was not placed under him. Their functions were clearly defined and they were independent of each other. Munim Khan held the government of the capital, while Muzaffar Khan attended to his usual duties of the Chief Diwan[5]. The latter now emerged as the dominating officer in administrative spheres. During the period of three years (1563-1566 A.D.) status of the Chief Diwan and his position appears to have been

1. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol.II, 350. Badaoni; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh; Vol. II, 71.

2. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. II, 276.

3. R. P. Tripathi; Some aspects of Muslim administration; P. 312-13.

4. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. II, 374.

5. Ibid; 411.

firmly established by that time[1]. Such was the influence of Muzaffar Khan that he was consulted by the Empror in the matter of appointment of high officials and even of Ministers[2]. From 1567 A.D. upto 1569 A.D., Muzaffar Khan acted as an independent Minister and Chief Diwan without any Vakil over him. During his ministry of eight years And a half (1563-1572 A.D.) Muzaffar Khan carried out several important financial reforms and greatly consolidated his position and that of his ministry[3]. In 1566 A.D. Muzaffar Khan abolished the Jama-i-Ragami and replaced it by a rent roll, called Jama-hal-i-hasil or the assessment of the actual produce of the lands. Ten Qanungoes, as well as other experts, made the assessment, as far as possible, on the basis of the actual produce of the lands. Abul Fazl remarks that though this assessment was not really a hal-hasil assessment, yet it comparison with the earlier assessment, "It was undoubtedly more rational and closer to hasil"[4].

As the regulation for the branding (Ain-i-Dagh) of the horses was not yet in force, Muzaffar Khan fixed the number of soldiers which the contingent of the Amirs and Mulazims (friends of the kings) were to contain, and the soldiers were divided into three

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1. Ibn Hasan; The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire; P. 150.
2. A.L. Srivastava; Akbar the Great, Vol. II Shivalal Agarwala, Agra, 1973, P. 56. The appointment of Shaikh Abdun Habi as Sadr is the best example.
3. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. II, 402 n. Abul Fazl; Ain-i-Akbari; Vol. I, 373. Shah Nawaz Khan; Maasir-ul-Umara; Vol. II, Part I, 360.
4. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. II, 402 n and 403. Abul Fazl; Ain-i-Akbari; Vol. I, 373, Shah Nawaz Khan; Maasir-ul-Umara; Vol. II, Part I, 360.

classes[1]. The Maathir-ul-Umara says that, he allowed the first class 48,000 dams and the second 32,000 dams and the third 24,000 dams per annun[2].

Muzaffar Khan, a man of independent views and character began to consider himself indispensable. One day at a game of Chaupar, he lost temper and behaved rudely towards Akbar[3]. He, therefore, fell from the royal favour and was removed from ministership about the middle of 1572 A.D. and was exiled to Mecca[4].

The removal of Muzaffar Khan must have been considered necessary to make him feel that he was not indispensable and that discipline could not be sacrificed for any individual. The object, however, was achieved, and the example set, but Muzaffar Khan was not to be sacrificed for any individual. His good services were called to mind and his merits were found to outweigh his defects. Therefore while Muzaffar Khan was yet on his way to the ports of Gujarat, he was recalled[5].

In 1577 A.D. the emperor undertook the reform of the currency and appointed a Persian Khwaja Abdus Samad Shirazi, to be the Superintendent of the imperial mint at

1. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol.II, 403. Abul Fazl; Ain-i-Akbari; Vol. I, 373-374. Shah Nawaz Khan; Maasir-ul-Umara; Vol. II, Part I, 360.
2. Shah Nawaz Khan; Maasir-ul-Umara; Vol. II, Part I, 360,
3. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol.II, 531
4. Ibid; 535.
5. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. III, 9.

Delhi[1]. All the mints at provincial head quarters which had hitherto been under Chaudharies, were placed under more responsible officers who were required to work under the supervision of Abdus Samad. The Delhi staff under Abdus Samad consisted of a darogha (assistant superintendent), a Sarafi (assayer), an amin (assistant to the daroga), a treasure, a mushrif (accountant), a weighman, a melter of ore, a plate maker and a merchant whose duty was to supply gold, silver and copper[2]. In 1584 A.D. Akbar ordered a new coinage to reflect the idealogical and political changes underway in his reign. The new coins bore the single legend: "God is great, splendid is His Glory"(Allahu akbar jalla jalaluhu) with the ambiguous play on the emperor's name and titles. The date was stamped with Solar. Ilahi years under the new era with the old Persian names of the months added. In short, the coinage ceased to be indisputably Islamic in its design.

In 1579 A.D. a Persian Shah Mansur and Muzaffar Khan were directed to inspect the capital treasury and compare cash with the account books. They found everything in order[3]. As the Khwaja excelled in astuteness, knowledge, effecting economies and, strict observance of rules and regulations. In the 25th year, he issued full demands for the realization of arrears and resumptions. When Bihar and Bengal had been conquered by

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1. John S. Deyell; "The development of Akbar's currency system and Monetary integration of the conquered kingdoms" in John F. Richards, eds.; The Imperial Monetary system of Mughal India; P.19.
2. M.P. Singh; Town, Market, Mint, Port in Mughal Empire 1556-1707; New Delhi, 1985, P. 35.
3. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. III, 373-374

Akbar. the Emperor from knowledge and foresight, because that region is by its climate injurious to men, had ordered for the encouragement of the army, that the pay of the soldiers was to be increased by 100 percent in Bengal and 50 percent in Bihar. The Khwaja failed to understand the situation and took upon himself the responsibility (Jawab girifta) of issuing an order to the effect that in Bengal the increase was to be 50 percent and in Bihar 20 percent. He issued orders to Muzaffar Khan to recover the excess payments, who made up the accounts from the beginning of the year, and demanded re-payment of the extra amounts[1]. On receiving these ill –timed demand the Jagir holders in Bihar and Bengal raised the head of sedition. However. Khwajas loyality and Zeal had impressed themselves upon Akbar, he was therefore, again granted a Khilat; and appointed to the high office of the Diwan-i-Kul (1580-1581 A.D.). The Khwaja, however, was not destined to enjoy the confidence of the king for long.[2] Shah Mansur with Raja Todar Mal had carried out significant revenue reforms. First of all the Finance Ministry under Shah Mansur, divided the Empire into 12 provinces, to each of which a Governor (Siphah Salar), a Diwan. A Bakhshi. A Mir Adl, a Sadar. a Kotwal a Mir-

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1. Abul Fazl; AkbarNama; Vol. III, 431. Abul Fazl; Ain-i-Akbari; Vol. I, 475-476. Shah Nawaj Khan; Maasir–ul-Umara; Vol. II, Part II, 752.

2. In February 1581 A.D., he became implicated in the conspiracy of Mirza Muhammad Hakim against Akbar. A charge was brought against him and he was executed. It was the only case of a Mughal Minister being executed, and it was most tragic. Shah Mansur's execution ended the career of a highly efficient financier. It was during his time that both Raja Todar Mal and he himself had carried out significant revenue reforms. Abul Fazl; AkbarNama, Vol. III, 501. Badaoni; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh; Vol. II, 300. Nizam-ud-din Ahmad; Tabaqat; i-Akbari; Vol. II, 547.

Bahr (Admiral) and a recorder (Waqaya Navis) were appointed[1]. The most important reforms in financial administration were those effected in 1579 A.D. to 1580 A.D. Earlier there was a regulation that every year some experienced and honest men were to send in details of the rates from all parts of the country. Therefore, every year, a general ordinance (Dastur-al-amal) was framed with respect to the payment of dues. However, when the Empire became larger in extent these reports arrived late and at different times. As a result of this the soliders[2] and the peasantry suffered loss on one hand the husbandmen complained of extensive exactions and on the other, the holder of assigned lands was aggrevied on account of the arrears.It was also rumoured that some recorders of rates had gone aside from the path of rectitude. Consequently, the officers at head quarters were harassed and they were unable to find a remedy. The conversion of state demand into cash also posed a serious problems, since the prices of corn fluctuated from place to place and from time to time[3]. It called for the settlement of new rates for the

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1. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. III, 413.
2. Ibid; 413n Perhaps this refers to Timur's regulation that the pay of soldiers should vary according the current price of grains.
3. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. III, 413-414.

   Aveen Akbery, or the Institutes of the Emperor Akbar, Vol. I, 366.

   Abul Fazl; Ain-i-Akbari; Vol.II, 88.

conversion of land revenue into cash[1].

The whole scheme of reforms and the necessary regulations had been worked out jointly by Khwaja Shah Mansur and Todar Mal, but the sudden uprising in Bengal and Bihar in January, 1580 A.D. created a grave situation and the Emperor had to sent the Raja to these rebellious provinces to bring the situation under control, thus, leaving Khwaja Shah Mansur to carry out the entire work of the reform. Therefore, while the implementation part of the reforms was carried out under the instructions of Shah Mansur, the actual brain behind the whole scheme was that of Raja Todar Mal[2].

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1. To over come this difficulty, Todar Mal devised a rational method. what is variously known as the Ain-i-Dahsala, the Zabti System, or the Bandobast Arazi, that is the land revenue settlement of Raja Todar Mal, in 1579-1580 A.D. According to the dahsala_arrangement, the average produce and prices of the last ten years were collected partly from the governments records and partly from other sources and one tenth, of the total was take to be the 'mal' or revenue of a year. It should however, not be supposed that hence forward no record of produce or prices was kept. The value of Dah-Sala arrangement lay in that it obviated the necessity of collecting such annual returns before setting the annual revenue. With the Dahsala rate the Government, the collectors and the people also knew that would be the revenue for a particular year and consequently the work of collection was expedited and considerably faciliated. See Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol.III, 412.

2. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. III, 413-414.

There are some other Persian nobles who contributed during the reign of Akbar in the financial administrative set up. Mir Fathullah Shirazi (Persian) started his work in 1585 A.D. with perfect zeal and earnestness, and like his able predecessors, he also put forward certain proposals for further reforms for which their was ample scope. The proposals aimed at remedying the defects experienced in the practical working of the administration. While drawing up these proposals Fathullah had the improvement of the finances and the amelioration of the peasantry in mind. It also is significant to note that each proposal was supported by a statement of the facts which necessitated it. Hence his proposals, classified and detailed under twenty different heads, give a good idea of the working of the department. and no less of the Mir's sound grasp, of its affairs. It is only from Abul Fazl's account that we come to know of these regulations[1].

In 1585 A.D. an order was carried by Akbar that Raja Todar Mal should conduct the financial and administrative affairs of the empire according to Mir Fathullah Shirazi's counsels and that the Mir should complete the old transactions which had not been scrutnised since the time of Muzaffar Khan[2]. The Mir drew up sundry regulations tending towards the improvement of the finances and the amelioration of the peasantry which were accepted by the emperor.

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1. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama, Vol.III, 687-693.

2. Badaoni; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh; Vol. II, 325.

   Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol.III, 687. Abul Fazl; Ain-i-Akbari; Vol.I, 34n. Shah Nawaz Khan; Maasir-ul-Umara; Vol.I, 543.

Mir Fathullah, put forward some twenty proposals for the improvement of revenue administration. Of his twenty proposals, the first three deal with collection of revenue, giving receipts to the cultivators and account keeping. The fourth, fifth and sixth refer to the negligence of the cultivators and contain provisions for putting greater checks upon Patwaries, Muqaddams and Thakurs (Middle Men) in the interest of the Raiyat. The seventh to fifteenth deal with the relations of the collector and central department, particularly the auditing branch. The sixteenth makes a proposal for keeping one Qanungo from each Pargana at the court for the enlightenment on matters connected with his duties. The seventeenth refers to the treasury, the eighteenth to the need of scrutinizing pending arrears, the nineteenth provides for the Jagirdars to improve their estates and recommends to the king to take it into consideration at the time of increasing their rank and allowances. The twentieth refers to the rules of deducting a soldier's pay on his failure to produce his horse for branding[1].

Since the proposals had been made with a good intention and from right thinking they were accepted. Abul Fazl writes, "The old accounts were put into order and by the labour of this wise man (Mir Fathullah) the tribunal of the vizier became a house of delight for the public[2]" when Mir Fathullah Shirazi died Abul fazl recorded the Emperor's mourning for his servant. He often said that the Mir was his Vakil, philosopher,. physician, and astronomer, and that no one could understand the amount of his grief for him. "Had he fallen into the hands of the Franks, and they had demanded all

1. Ibn Hasan; The central structure of the Mughal Empire; P. 162-63.

2. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol.III, 693. Badaoni; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh; Vol. II, 377.

my treasures in exchange for him, I should gladly have entered into such a profitable traffic and have bought that precious jewel cheap[1]".

Another Persian noble who contributed in the revenue ministry was Khawaja Shams-ud-din Khawafi (1589-1590 A.D). Several changes took place when Shams-ud-din was raised to the office of the Chief Diwan[2]. On 12 Feb. 1592 A.D.; the entire Khalisah (crown) territory was divided into four zones, obviously to facilitate the revenue administration; each was placed under an able officer. In June 1594 A.D.; the collectors of the territories of assayars (Sairafi) of the Mints were summoned to court, and directed to fix weights of various kinds of coins and their relative values. This work was accomplished under the supervision of Khwaja Shams-ud-din in two months. It was an important measure and gave relief to cultivators, traders and others. The embezzlers also retired into obsecurity[3]. The ministry of Shams-ud-din also carried out numerous significant reforms (1594-98 A.D.). Though the affairs of the finance ministry were prosperously conducted by the truthfulness and industry of Khwaja Shams-ud-din, yet on account of excess of business and of farsightedness, a Diwan was appointed to every province. An order was given that everyone should report his proceedings to the Emperor in accordance with the advice of the Chief Diwan[4].

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1. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. III, 848.
2. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. II, 862.
3. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. III, 1001.
4. Ibid; 1029.

We can say that with the completion of Fathullah Shirazi's work (twenty proposals)[1], a period of apparent stability in the revenue administration ensued, which if the silence of the chronicles could be relied upon, prevailed till the end of Akbar's reign. The only important change recorded in 1596 A.D. was the decision to bring the provincial revenue officer, now designated Diwan, directly under the Revenue Ministers orders, who till then had been an officer of the viceroy's staff[2].

Passing on to study the agrarian system under Jahangir and Shahjahan (1605-1658 A.D.) Moreland found 'Scanty' and incomplete information in contemporary 'authorities' including the official documents which record no important changes in the first half of the 17th century. Moreland indicated that if the silence of chronicles in this matter could be relied upon, then the inference could be drawn that Akbar's methods of assessment which was done by Persian nobles "remained in operation in their integrity"[3]. However this inference is decisively negative because Persians once again during the reign of Shahjahan and viceroyalty of Aurangzeb contributed significantly in the Revenue department. The work was entrusted to a Persian named Murshid quli Khan, a native of

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1. W.H. Moreland; The Agrarian System of Moslem India; P. 106. W.H. Moreland, "The Revenue system of the Mughal Empire" The combridge History of India, the Mughal period, cambridge, 1937, Vol. IV, 462. U.N. Day; Mughal government; P. 43

2. W.H. Moreland, "The Revenue system of the Mughal Empire; The Cambridge Hisotry of India; Vol. IV, 462.

3. W.H. Moreland; The Agrarian system of Moslem India; P. 124.

Khorasan, who was appointed Diwan of the Deccan[1]. According to Moreland "the novelty of Murshid Quli Khan's work lay in the methods of assessment". Upto this time neither Measurement nor sharing had been practised in the Deccan had plough rents prevailed in a large part of the Deccan. While Murshid Quli Khan did not abolish plough rents, he also introduced sharing and measurement as alternatives, so that three methods of assessment, applied doubtless in accordance with local traditions, emerged. The backward tracts were assessed on the plough, where the peasant paid a fixed annual sum for each plough and team, being free to cultivate as much land as he chose in what ever manner he found convient[2]. The more developed villages were assessed by one of the new alternatives, but with a definite preference for measurement. The system of sharing introduced was "differential", well known in other Islamic countries but hitherto unfamiliar in Muslim India[3]. Under it the share claimed was not uniform for all crops,

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1. Moosni; Economy of the Mughal Empire; P. 194. Jadunath Sarkar; History of Aurangzeb; Vol.I, 189-193. Shah Naaz Khan and Abdul Havy; The Maasir-ul-Umara; Vol. II, Part-I, 304-309. Abdul Karim; Murshid Quli Khan and His times; Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca, 1963, pp. 20.

2. W.H. Moreland; The Agarian system of Moslem India; P. 184. Jagdish Narayan Sarkar; Studies in Economic life in Mughal India; P. 221. W.H. Moreland, "The revenue system of the Mughal Empire"; The Cambridge History of India; Vol.IV, 468.

3. W.H. Moreland; The Agrarian System of Moslem India; P. 185. Apart from the early episode in Sind, differential scale appears for the first time in Indian records.

but differed with circumstances. Thus for crops depending on rain half the prduce was claimed, one third for grain irrigated from wells and from one fourth to one nineth for the various high grade crops like poppy or sugarcare[1]. In measurement, on the other hand the assessment rates which were fixed in cash, were based on a uniform claim to one fourth of the produce, a distinctly low figure when judged by the standard of the times. This lenient assessment was accompanied by active measures to repopulate and reorganise the runied villages. Besides advances when required were given. Consequently, for the time being prosperity was restored.

Golconda and Bijapur paid tributes and were still outside the Mughal empire when Murshid Quli Khan carried out his reorganisation. Early in the 17th centuryGolconda was entirely under the farming system in its worst form, the amount payable being settled annualy by auction. Evidently the farming system was of old standing for it was practised in Golconda in the 14th century and it operated in full swing in the 17th century[2].

To aid recovery after the ravages of war and famine, Murshid Quli Khan set in motion a vigorous program. He recruited headmen and settlers for deserted villagers; granted loans for seed and cattle, gave loans to dig wells or build river embankments for irrigation; and he assured the peasantry of continued peace and security. Parties of revenue survey's or and assessors carefully recorded holdings, irrigation facilities, and arable and waste lands. More remote, hilly villages were left to lump. Sum pay the revenue by a share of the crops. However, the majority of villages underwent a revenue

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1. W.H. Moreland; The Agrarian System of Moslem India; P. 185.

2. W.H. Moreland; The Agrarian System of Moslem India; P. 187.

survey and were assessed in cash according to the zabt regulations. Murshid Quli Khan's system formed the basis for all subsequent Deccan revenue assessments—Mughal and Maratha—until the British conquest in the early 19th century[1].

The economic and financial crisis which forms an under current to the 17th century, and which steadily worsened during the reign of Aurangzeb, assumed a particularly acute form during the 18th century. By the time Bahadur Shah died (1712 A.D.), the accumulated treasures of previous generations had been exhausted. Bahadur Shah's reckless generosity in granting jagirs and increments threatened either to make the mansabs meaning less or to start the dangerous process of frittering away Khalisah lands.

The situation worsened under Jahandar Shah[2] Zulfiqar Khan a Persian, by forbiding grant of sanadas and increments in rank to a mansabdar before verification of his claims,by compelling the mansabdars to maintain their fixed quota of troops and by enforcing the regulations regarding the musters (Akhbarat). However, these rules also were disregarded and royal favourities got liberal grants and mansabs.

The Persian nobility and bureaucracy was combined into one and the nobles who held important administrative charges were always in a position to but pressure upon the merchants and traders. The Emperor had the first right of pruchase and the governors were authorised to purchase in the name of the king any novelty or any fine stuff that

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1. Jadunath Sarkar; History of Aurangzeb; Vol. II, 189-193.
2. Satish Chandra; Party and Politics at the Mughal court; P. 264. Jagdish Narayan Sarkar; Studies in Economic life in Mughal India; P. 351.

came into the country or was put on the market. This gave ample opportunity to the governors/members of nobility like Asaf Khan, Shaista khan, Mir-Jumla to indulge in trade. Such a conduct on the part of the nobles did not get an approbation of the Emperor, but they were seldom punished or their activities taken notice of, unless someone sent a petition or some protest was manifested by the Trading community. This attitude of the Emperor becomes understand able if we remember that the Emperors themselves participated in the trade. Father Monserrate mentions that Akbar engaged in trading on his own account through which he increased his wealth to no small degree, for he exploited every possible source of profit[1].

On the trading activities of Jahangir, William Hawkins obsrves "Likewise he (Jahangir) cannot abide that any man should have any precious stone of value, for it is death, if he knew it not at the Present time. By the means the king hath engrossed all fair stones that no man can buy from 5 carates upwards without his leave, for he hath the refusal of all and giveth not by the third part, so much as their value"[2].

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1. Father A. Monserrate; Commentary of Father Monserrate; trans from natin a Hayland and Banerjee, Cultack, 1928, P. 207.
2. Asaf Khan (Asaf Jahi) was originally M. Abul Hasan, son of Itimad-ud-daula and elder brother of NurJahan and father-in-law of Prince Khurram. He received the title of Asaf Khan in 1613-14 A.D. in Jahangir's reign. He was entitled Yamin-ud-daula and appointed Vakil by Shahjahan (1628) See Shah Nawaz Khan's, Massir-ul-Umara, Vol. I, 287-295. Afzal Khan ' Allami was originally Shukrullah Shirazi. He was attached to Prince Khurrum as his secretary and confidant. After the peace with Rana of Udaipur he was made the Prince's diwan and later given the title of Afzal Khan by Jahangir. Under Shahjahan he was appointed Mir-i-Saman and then Diwan-i-Kul (chief Diwan) (1628-29A.D.). He died in January 1639 A.D., at Lahore see Shah Nawaz Khan; Maasir-ul-Umara; Vol.I, 149-153.

Among the Persian nobles Asaf Khan, during the reigns of Jahangir and Shahjahan, had vast commercial interests and traded on his own account through which he succeeding in amassing fabulous wealth. Occasinally he joined Nurjahan in commercial undertakings.

Asaf Khan and Afzal Khan, the Diwan-i-Kul, "two of the most eminent and powerful Persian noble men about the king. When Shahjahan sent three farmans, to the Governor of Surat, the English and the Dutch and were asked to make an agreement with the Governor of Surat for getting their requirements of indigo at Agra (without paying any charge to others). However, neither of the two European nations was satisfaied[1]. Both the English and the Dutch declined, to agree to "such a form of trade". Even the Governor of Surat also appreciated the equity of these objectives and again referred the Matter to the Emperor. However, as he was then on his way to Kashmir any decision was bound to be delayed. The Dutch and the English then represented their case before Asaf Khan and Afzal Khan. The main points of their representation were :-

1. The grounds of objection of the two European nations were mainly three.

(i) The proposal to buy indigo at such a distance was "most unreasonable"; even "the best survey and trial there of" was generally inadequate to satisfy the company as regards the quality.

(ii) Every village yielded different varieties of indigo in considerable accounts.

(iii) No redress would be possible, "the king would be a party". See Jagdish Narayan Sarkar; Studies in Economic life in Mughal India; P. 199.

(i) They had enjoyed the liberty of free merchants for almost thirty years under Jahangir and Shahjahan.

(ii) They had been permitted in all places to trade with all merchants for all articles, and so

(iii) To them might be restored the freedom of trade in indigo, "the sole merchandize now remaining in ....his dominions which we could return for our country".

(iv) Otherwise, they might have to leave the country, in search of a more profitable trade.

In making this representation they were encouraged by the advice that though Manohar Das was the chief monopolist in name, it was Mir Jumla (Persian) who was the principal actor. Mir Jumla and Asaf Khan also belonged to different court factions.So the latter would be interested in pushing the case of the European merchants, if only to oppose his rival. In fact the intervention of Asaf Khan proved to be highly effective. The Emperor soon issued another farman "releasing the indigo into the accustomed liberty". The Governor of Surat went into raptures over it and calling the English to the Shahbundar's house, assured them that as the farman bore the Emperor's writing in the margin, the indigo trade would return to its "Pristine condition". But the English, aware of the emperor's cupidity, were sceptical and uncertain of the issue[1].

In 1640-41 A.D. Asaf Khan and Emperor Shahjahan invested Rs. 100,000 in cloth at Ahemedabad for Mokha and ordered weavers and dyers not to work for anyone else

1. Jagdish Narayan Sarkar; Studies in Economic life in Mughal India; P. 200.

untill this order was supplied. The imposition of such monopolies was not only in the nature of additional taxation, but disrupted the normal flow of exchange activities[1]. Shahjahan's minister Saadulla Khan another Persian had also established his private trade. But among nobles Mir Jumla[2] and Shaista Khan indulged in commercial enterprize on such a large scale that they can be easily called as Princes of merchants.

Mir Jumla, certainly presents a striking instance of a merchant turning into a states man. Manucci suggests, in a passage on the Pathans, that they combined the profession of warriors and merchants and treated their admission into the ranks of courtiers as a kind of business investment[3].

Persian nobility's involvement in commerce was of more dubious value. At one level, it helped channel part of the resources siphoned off agriculture and manufacture into the export-import trade and thus stimulated the production of export goods. Virtually every section of the ruling class, from members of the royal family to petty Shiqqdars in charge of the smallest administrative units participated in this activity. In the case of someone like Mir Jumla, who was a leading diamond merchant from Persia, with a large

1. Tapan Rachaudhri and Irfan Habib, edt, The Cambridge Economic History of India; Vol. I, 183.
2. Jagdish Narayan Sarkar; Life of Mir Jumla; Spink & Co., Calcutta, 1951, P. 44.
3. Manucci; Storia do Mogor 1653-1708 A.D.; trans and Edi. William Irunie, John Murray and Co. London, 1907-08 A.D., Vol. II, 453.

fleet of ships in his own right before he joined the Mughal service, this activity was not very different from that of others traders except that the capital came partly from the empire's revenue resoruces. For others who placed their money. On vessels going to the Red sea the Persian Gulf and the archipetage it was more of a speculative enterprise. The activity had negative implications for trade and manufacturers when the emperor or nobles used their authority to cornor the market[1].

Mir Jumla invested his money in more lucrative business. He had been a businessman before entering Imperial service and with the business accumen, he was able to speculate, after advanced money and even the English factors often borrowed money from him.

Persian nobles could not isolate themselves from the commercial world during Aurangzeb's reign. Persians whether holding jagirs or receiving pay from treasury, the income of the jagirdars was derived mainly in cash, so that the revenue in jagirs was also largely collected in cash. It should, therefore, occasion no surprise when we find nobles of the period accumulating enormous treasures in specie, cash and jewels. It would be natural for nobles, who had a large amount of cash in hand, to desire to increase it still further by investing it in trade, either by engaging in trade directly or by making capital advances to merchants[2]. A big source for capital needed for sea-borne trade came from

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1. Tapan Ray Chaudhri and Irfan Habib, eds; The Cambridge Economic History of India; Vol. I, 182-183. Jagdish Narayan Sarkar; Studies in Economic life in Mughal India; P. 190.

2. Travernier; Travels in India; Vol. II, 30.

the Mughal aristocrats. According to Tavernier that, "on arrival for embarkation at Surat, we find plenty of money. For it is the Principal trade of the nobles of India to place their money on vessels on speculation for Harmuz, Bassora and Mocha, and even for Bantam, Achin and Philippenes"[1].

Mir Jumla's activities in the commercial sphere offer the most note worthy example of such business investments. He had frequent business deals with the English[2], and sometimes he advanced money to the English factors also[3] Not only did Mir Jumla advance his money to others, he was in a real sense a merchant Prince. His ships carried on trade between Arrakan, Southern India[4] and Persia. His interest in sea borne trade with

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1. Jagdish Narayan Sarkar; The Life of Mir Jumla; P. 215.
2. Travernier; Travels in India; Vol. II, 3. "The Nabob's money were positively enorder, without, disputing or pretences, to be paid by Mr. Trevisa back, and that accompt cleared, and that for the future none undertake such an unthankful and tresspassing part of service. His ship wee shall endeavour to recover, and hope in March next to given you certain advice of our proceedings theirin". William Foster; English factories in India 1670-84; Edi by Charles Fawcell, Oxford, 1936, 55.
3. "In the meanwhile charnock and Sheldom were peremptorily ordered to give respect and account of their actions into Mr. Trevisa. The latter was urged to repay the money lent to him by Mir Jumla and was again reminded of the necessity of a large supply of salt petre". See English factories in India; 1661-64 A.D., P. 153.
4. Waqa-i-Deccan, ed.by Yusuf Husain, 1702 A.D. vide Athar Ali; The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb; P. 155.

Persia is well brought out in the following passage from the English factories in India :

> "You (chamber and his calleagues) will perceive by the copy of our general consultation that we have condescended and agreed, for the preservation of the Nabob's amity, that now the junk cannot be restored, he may take his choice either of the Anne, with all her ammunition and stores or of your new built Slip. But this year you must not seem (to know) that we do any way condescend to, so that it may come to his knowledge, for you know the Nabob is five times more indebted to us, by his accompt, besides he cloth yearely make use (of us) as this last yeare with twenty five tonns of gumlacks where of he pays nor freight nor custome in Persia"[1].

The attention of the Persian nobles was however, not only confined to foreign trade, but extended as well, and perhaps, to a greater extent, to internal trade. Here their lack of professional knowledge was more than amply compensated by the abuse of their influence and authority. Aurangzeb's farman to officials in Gujrat contain references to such commercial transactions, which yielded handsome profits, entered into by the nobles[2].

If Mir Jumla offers the best instance of a Persian noble taking part in sea-borne trade, Shaista Khan (Persian) is the noble dabbling in internal trade. His unlimited appetite for money found an outlet in his monopolisation of the internal trade of Bengal[3]. Shaista Khan was interested in internal trade, may be because he considered it more safe investment than over sea trade which was full of risk. As governor of Bengal he monopalised almost the entire trade of the province[4].

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1. Jagdish Narayan Sarkar; The Life of Mir Jumla; P. 216-18.
2. Ali Muhammad Khan; Mirat-i-Ahmadi; Vol.I, S.Chand &Co., Delhi, 1970 (Reprint), 286-88.
3. Athar Ali; The Mughal nobility under Aurangzeb; P. 156.
4. U.N. Day; Mughal government; P. 201.

The official involvement in the internal trade—of which most notorious example was the activities of the Persian Subedar Shaista Khan, was virtual extortion organised as commerce . The monopoly also consisted of salt, farmed out to traders, was in effect a from of additional taxation. Shaista Khan turned it into a source of Private profit and extended the monopoly from time to time to other commodities-like salt petre, beeswax and even fodder. When Shaista Khan and Prince Azim us Shan forced merchants to buy their wares at prices they themselves dictated, the activity in question hardly deserved the name of trade any longer[1].

When Shaista Khan was made Aurangzeb's viceroy of Bangal, he "forms a prominent figure in connection with the early commercial enterprises of the English E.I.C.[2] The period of his governship from A.D. 1664-88A.D.[3] practically synchronise with that of job charnock's Chiefship of the Patra factory (1664-80A.D.). It appears from a study of English factory correspondence that Shaista Khan's regime caused numerous hindrances and interferences to the English Company's trade in Bengal[4].

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1. Tapan Ray Chaudhry and Irfan Habib, eds; The Cambridge Economic History of India; Vol.I, 183.
2. Wilson; Early Annals of the English in Behar; Vol.I, 34,93.Sarkar; Aurangzeb, Vol.V, 332.
3. Except 1677-80 A.D. Ibid; 366-69, 321-322.
4. It must be admitted that the trade of foreign company improved much in Shiasta Khan's time, in spite of such interferences.

> "Shaista Khan used to import by ship salt, supari or betelnuts and other articles, and sold them in Bengal on profitable terms. In addition, he accumulated seventeen crorer of rupees by procuring two or three tolas of gold for one gold mohur. He also sold salt and supari to the merchants and traders in the city of Dacca. The latter were thus debarred from making purchases and sales on their on account"[1]. Shista Khan had established vast, "emporiums of salt worth 152,000 rupees at several places"[2].

The English records are full of similar informaiton about the same noble. "The Nabob's (Shaista Khan's) officers oppress the people, monopalize most commodities, even as low as grass for Beasts, caves, fire wood, thatch, etc., nor do they want ways to oppress those people of all sorts who trade, whether natives or strangers"[3]. Charnock, writing from Patna (July3, 1664A.D.) stated that

> "Shaista Khan's intentions were : to get the whole trade of Peeter (Saltpetre) into his own hands, and to sell it again to us and the Dutch at his own rates, he well knowing the ships can not go from the Bay empty. But, he is not likely to get above maunds 4 or 5,000 this year. His darogha hath so abused the merchants that they are almost all runne. He pretends that all the peeter he buys is for the king. It was never known he had occasion of more than maunds 1,000 or 1,500 yearly for all his warrs"[4].

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1. S.K. Bhuyan; Annals of the Delhi Badshah; Guhati, 1947, P. 167-68.
2. Ibid; P. 169 and 172. Mirza Raj Jai Singh started, manufacturing salt in his jagir and as a result of this the imperial salt factory in the Pargana of Sanbhar began to incur the loss of one lakh of rupees annually. Shahjahan directed Jai Singh to stop the manufacture of salt at once, otherwise his jagir would be transferred.
3. Athar Ali; The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb; P. 156.
4. William Foster, ed.; English Factories, 1661-64A.D; P. 395-96.

Shaista Khan's inordinate interest in making commercial profit by hook or by cook was by no means an exception. About 1703 A.D., it was reported to the emperor that prince Azimushshan was forcing the purchase of goods for his private trade and called it Sauda-i-Khas. Aurangzeb censured the Prince sternly and sarcastically called the practice Sauda-i-Kham (rawdeal) and called the Prince a fool and a tyrant for practising such plunder of the people[1].

Besides general imperial monopolies there were local monopolistic controls. Sometimes a provincial governor or his nominee would enter the market as prospective trader in the sale and purchase of an article. This private trade or Sauda-i-Khas of local officials proved to be great source of extortion. Many influentional Persians adopted this characteristic feature of India's economic life in 17th and 18th centuries, including Mirza Ishhaq Beg (governor of Surat), Mir Jumla in the Karnatak and Shuja, Mir Jumla, Shaista Khan and Azim-us-Shan in Bengal.

The case of Mirza Ishhaq Beg, illustrates the danger of having merchants as Governors. He was not only the governor of Surat but also the greatest merchant of the place. From the complaints of the Surat factors to Afzal Khan (Persian), Diwan of Prince Khurram 1619 A.D.), he endeavoured "to depress all others for increase of his own gain, without regard to the Prince's service and benefit"[2].

The basis of Mir Jumla's economic system in the Karnatak and Bengal was monopoly. He used to charge monopoly prices and tried to control internal production.

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1. Athar Ali; The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb; P 156.

2. William Foster, ed.; English Factories, 1618-21 A.D., P. 147-8.

He established a monopoly of the trade in all 'brown' or unbleached cloth in his 'new conquests', and they were sold at 20% profit. Again sale of grain seemed to be strict monopoly. Paddy and other necessaries coming to Madras through his jurisdiction had to pay customs while paddy was sold to the town people at 25% more than the market price. As governor of Bengal (1660-1663 A.D.), Mir Jumla endeavoured to become the sole stockist of all articles of necessity and then sell them at fanciful prices. In 1660 A.D. he offered to supply the English factors every year as much salt petre as they would require for his personal profit. Next year 1661 A.D. he made an extraordinary levy in Bengal, demanding Rs. 50,000 from the grain merchants of Dacca as something like an excess profits tax of modern times on the pretext that the latter had made a profit of twice the amount due to the continued presence of the Governor's large camp (on the eve of Kuch Bihar and Assam campagins). They were coerced to pay Rs. 25,000 in all, while city bankers, forewarned by such severity, paid three lakhs[1].

Shiasta Khan as Governor of Bengal at first abolished the existing trade monopolies and the forbidden abwabs. However, after a few years his subordinates were left free by his supine rule to squeeze the people and feed his prodigal luxury by reviving the old methods. Shaista Khan, as Governor of Bengal, also tried to monopolise the entire Salt petre trade at Patna (1664A.D.) in his own hands and then to sell it to, the English and Dutch at his own rates. He also demanded of the English 20,00 maunds on the

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1. Jadunath Sarkar; Mughal Administration; P. 38.

Jagdish Narayan Sarkar; Life of Mir Jumla; P. 217.

pretence of "buying for , King" and of "carrying on the King's wars" (i.e. Arakan wars)[1].

As we have already mention that the practice of hoarding treasures was prevailing among Persian nobles. In thirteen years as governor of Bengal, a Persian Shaista Khan was believed to have accumulated R. 380 million. The system of escheat—essentially consisted in the emperor recovering form the dead noble's assets whatever, was due to the treasury and distributing the balance at his will among the heirs[2].

Emperor Shah Jahan set up his monopoly in indigo. As the English factors wrote that the Emperor "took that trade into his own hands with the idea of forcing all merchants to buy from him at his own price, pay a year in advance and take whatever trash he might please to give them[3]". To meet the shortage of cultivation, caused by the flight of the regular indigo producers, the Emperor took recourse to farming of cultivation Emperor farmed out the land to one of his nobles, "Mir Jombelo", a Pesian – i.e. Mir Muhammad Amin, Mir Jumla, Shahristani, then Khan-i-Saman. If we believe Methwold, Surat President, though Manohardas was the "Prime monopolist", it was Mir Jumla, "High steward to the King", "who was principally engaged in the project, who did not only cherish but hatch it for his own advantage", because the year before, he had sent for his own account 1200 fardles of indigo into Persia overland. The latter agreed on condition that if the Dutch and the English desisted from purchasing the Indigo at his

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1. William Foster, ed.; English Factories, 1661-64 A.D.; P. 69-71.

2. Ibid; P. 73.

3. Jagdish Narayan Sarkar; Studies in Economic Life in Mughal India; P. 188.

price consecutively for two or three years, the Emperor would bear the loss himself[1].

The Persian nobles were naturally interested in the trade in Luxury goods, especially jewels. Shaista Khan purchases from Tavernier are an example of this. The French merchant even went to Europe in 1654 A.D. to buy jewels on behalf of this potentate[2]. Sometimes the emperor himself purchased jewels through the agency of the nobles. Shaista Khan sent one hudred and nine pearls to Aurangzeb but the price recommended by the Khan was exorbitant according to the estimate of the royal experts, so the emperor did not purchase them and they were returned[3]. On an earlier occasion Shaista Khan had sent a jewel and some pearls to Aurangzeb when he was a prince, and the latter had enquired from him about the prices so that the payment be made to him[4].

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1. William Foster, ed.; English Factories, 1630-33 A.D.; P. 325. A sayyid of Ispahan, Mir Muhammad Amin was entitled Mir Jumla under Mohammad Quli Qutab Shah of Goldkunda. He subsequently went back to Persia, but returned to become Mir-i-Saman under Jahangir (1620 A.D.). He was appointed Mir-Bakhshi (1635 A.D.) with further honours under Shah Jahan. Died, Aug., 22, 1637 A.D. Shah Nawaz Khan; Maasir-ul-umara; Vol.II, 117-121.
2. Tavernier; Travels in India; Vol. I, 320-22. Tavernier says that in matters of trade the Indians wer every precise and paid their debts without delay (Vol.I, 326). Shaista Khan purchased from Tavernier articles worth Rs. 96,000 in 1652 A.D.; in 1660 A.D.he for the second time purchaed some article from Tavernier; in 1666 A.D. he again purchased some articles of luxury (Vol.I, 15-16). Shaista Khan asked Tavernier to supply beautiful jewels and assured him that he would pay for them as liberally as the emperor (Vol.I, 245).
3. Ather Ali; The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb; P. 157.
4. Ibid; 157.

The desire for luxuries and for obtaining articles made according to their own tastes and specifications led the Persian nobility in general to have their own Kharkhanas[1] or workshops, for manufacturing robes, utensils, arms, furniture, etc. which sometimes employed quite a large number of artisans.

In fact in establishing Karkhanas the Mughal Emperors were following the practice prevalent in the Persian court. Shah Ismail, the Persian emperor, had formed such a workshop consisting of copyists, painters, gilders, gold mixers and others and appointed Bihzad (Persian) to head this group[2].

Persians came to India, after the Islamisation of Persia in the 8th century, as soldiers of fortune, Sufi missionaries, poets, scholars and traders. Akbar invited leading artists, carpet makers and crafts men from Persia and set up their factories at Fatehpur Sikri[3]. However, a considerable number of Persian nobles during the Mughal period had

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1. Usually the scholars of today associate the term Karkhana with the workshops maintained exclusively by the emperor, Princes and nobles. However it must be added that the Karkhanas were also maintained by foreign trading companies in the 17th century. See English Factories in India; 1618-21, P. 19,18. Individual traders also maintained Karkhanas.

2. Tripta Verma; Karkhanas under the Mughal from Akbar to Aurangzeb; Pragati Publications, Delhi, 1994, P X. Abul Fazl; Ain-i-Akbari; Vol.I, 12.

3. H.K. Naqvi; Mughal Hindustan : Cities and Industires 1556-1803; Marachi, 1958, P. 45. Michal Brand and Glenn D. Lowery, eds.; Fatehpur Sikri; Marg Publications, Bombay, 1987, P.80. Irfan Habib, "The Economic and Social Setting", in Brnad and Lowry; Fatehpur Sikri; P.82.

huge resources, which they could either have invested as capital or spent on goods required for consumption by themselves. The high levels of personal consumption was, on a whole more a hindrance than a help to the development of trade and industry, since it resulted in an under emphasis on the production and procurement of luxury goods. The idea of the Persian nobles concerning industry never went beyond Karkhanas or establishment employed artisans at low rates for satisfying their needs for luxury.

Detailed information about the Karkhanas maintained by the Persian nobles is not available. However by the side of Bakhtawar Khan's (Persian) proud claim of having established a number of Karkhanas in various towns[1] may be set the historians praise for a Persian Shujaat Khan's Karkhanas. The cups, plates, vessels, etc., manufactured in Persian nobles Karkhanas were much admired by Aurangzeb and Shujaat Khan sent these articles as presents to the Emperor and other nobles[2].

While there is a record of the nobles investing capital in commercial enterprise, it cannot be said that their interest was always confined to making commercial profit by honest means. On the other hand, they often put obstructions to the free flow of trade so that they may enhance their income, not from the use of their wealth but the misuse of their power. Bribes were always necessary before they would grant the required previleges to traders and merchants.

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1. Gavin Hambly; Cities of Mughal India : Delhi, Agra and Fatehpur Sikri; New York, 1968, P. 101. Athar Ali; The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb; P. 157.

2. Saqi Mustaid Khan; Maasir-i-Alamgiri; Eng. Trans by Jadunath Sarkar, Asiatic society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1943, P. 405-406.

In 1659 A.D. Mir Jumla stopped the trade of the English at KasimBazar until some presents were offered to him and then the requistie permission was given[1]. In 1660 A.D. Mir Jumla demanded 20,000 pagodas from the English factors and also asked them to remit 32,000 pagodas which he owed to the company[2]. When he was Subedar of Bengal, Mir Jumla had exempted the English traders from customs duties and in return the English traders had to pay Rs. 3,000 annuallly[3]. In trade and commerce corruption prevailed everywhere and no assistance was rendered by the authorities unless they were paid for it.

Tavernier says: "So true it is that those who desire to do business at the court of the Princes. in Turkey as well as in Persia and India should not attempt to commence anything unless they had considerable presents ready prepared and almost always an open purse for diverse officers of trust whose service they have need"[4].

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1. Jagdish Narayan Sarkar: The life of Mir Jumla; P. 4-5. Sinnappah Areasaratnam; Merchants, companies, and commerce on the coromandel coast; 1650-1740, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1986, P. 225. William Foster, ed.; English Factories in India 1655-60; P. 292-93.
2. Ibid; 391-92.
3. Ibid; 393-94.
4. Travernier; Travels in India; Vol. I, 115. William Foster, ed.; The English Factories in India; 1655-60, P. 197-98. On the death of Mir Jumla, the English traders had to face a lot of difficulty to get their Parwana renewed by the new Subedar, Daud Khan. Tapan Ray Chaudhri and Irfan Habib, eds.; The Cambridge Economic History of India; Vol. I, 186.

Presents for the officers and their minions—demanded and extorted with persistent regularity—appear to have been very much a part of the normal expenses of trading. Appeals for redress to higher authorities were worth little unless accomplanied by presents. The English factors felt uneasy under Shiasta Khan in Bengal, who insisted that presents worth Rs. 3,000 be paid to him whether they had any business transaction for the time being or not[1].

> "Though we have at present little or noe business of our masters to manage, yet we are not free from trouble under Nabob's government ..... it falling under the power of a person most unjust and solely, addicted to covetiousness. We must fair the yearly present of this place Rs. 3,000 will be exacted, though we may have noe ships arrive, the rent and custom of this town (i.e. Hugli) being his Jageer[2]".

Instances of merchants, being thrown into prison by Persian nobles for inability or refusal to give what was demanded were common enough. The loans taken from the merchants were not always returned. Shaista Khan who raised extortion to the level of high art, devised the ingenious technique of forcing loans on merchants at 25 percent per annuam and recalling capital and interest at the full annual rate after six to eight months so that the actual interest paid could be as much as 50 percent. Forcing merchants to buy goods 'at 10 to15 : per 100 : higher than the markets for time' was an other favourite trick of his (Shiasta Khan) and other nobles taking a hand in trade[3].

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1. Tapan Ray Chaudhri and Irfan Habib, eds.; The cambridge Economic History of India; Vol.I, 186.
2. William Foster; The English Factories in India; 1665-67, P. 258-59.
3. Tapan Ray Chaudhri and Irfan Habib, eds.; The cambridge Economic History of India; Vol. I, 186.

A farman of Aurangzeb preserved in the Mirat-i- Ahmadi illustrates the variety of ways in which Persian nobles sequeezed trade and commerce through illegal cesses and impositions .

Aurangzeb directed the Jagirdars of the province of Gujrat not to realise cesses such as rahdari, mahi, mallahi, tarkari, tahbazari, etc., which had been abolished, from the traders and merchants. They were not to accept any Peshkash offered on behalf of the grain dealers and other merchants and traders. The Emperor further directed them not to impose other illegal cesses on the business community[1].

While revenues from land remained by far the chief part of income for the nobility during our period, the advantage of supplementing this income by dabbling in commercial speculations of various types seems to have been realised increasingly by a section of the higher nobility. Even Princes and members of the royal family, including the begums, did not desdain from making profit in commercial speculation[2]. On the other hand, while it is true that nobles often misused their official position for their private profit, instances of this type should not be unduly exaggerated. It should be remembered that the interference of the state in economic affairs was taken for granted in medieval

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1. Ali Muhammad Khan; Mirat-i-Ahmadi; Vol. I, 286-88
   Rahdari : Road tolls
   Mahi : Tax on fishermen on bringing the fish for sale in the market.
   Mallahi : Impost on Merchants, trades and travellers at the ferries.
   Tarkari : Tax on vegetables brought in the market by the peasants.
   Tahbazari : Ground rent levied on Shopkeepers.
2. Satish Chandra; Party and Politics at the Mughal court; P. 70. S. Chandra; Bengal Past and Present, 1959, P. 92-97.

times, as also the seeking of special favours, including the creation of monopolies by suitable bribes, presents, etc.

In 1667 A.D., when the French traders wanted to obtain a farman from the Emperor for trade, they undertook to give to the Persian noble Jafar Khan Rs.10,000 apart from a bigger payment to the emperor to put across their cases.

While all these payments were made, the Parwana for trade was issued to the French traders and they were permitted to hire a house in Surat and to pay two percent duty on their goods[1].

Thus to conclude we may say that the Persian nobles participated in the economic activity of the country, but when the nobility bureaucracy, and royalty participated in trade they did not do so themselves as merchants but used their officials positions to advance their mercantile interests. They by so doing established monopolies, and hinderd a free and full growth of economic activity of the country. Thus with change in their political furtunes these nobles along with their emperors could not remain as merchants or develop themselves into industrialists.

It is usually assumed that the decline of the Mughal Empire was accompanied by a general decline in the economy of India. In the ultimate analysis the role of the ruling classes has been aspects of Mughal economy-trade and agriculture. The contact with the west was open but the only things imported by the ruling classes were those catering to luxury and vice, not Eurpean knowledge in science and technology[2]. "None cared for

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1. William Foster ed.; The English factories in India; 1665-67, P. 281.
2. Kiran Pawar; Sir Jadunath Sarkar A Profile in Histriography; Books and Books , New Delhi, 1985, P. 129.

European knowledge, no printing press, not even the cheapest and smallest lithographic stone was installed"[1] by the Mughal Emperor's on the ruling classes. As pointed out by Irfan Habib "No works are known to hav ebeen written in the 16th or 17th century. Showing any influence whatsoever of eurpean technological treaties on taking intellectual backwardness of the Indian ruling class......needs to be examined". Again "the dependence of craft production on the vast system of agrarian exploitation .... this system broke down amidst a severe agrarian crises"[2].

There is no denying the fact of deterioration and considerable ruination of agriculture due to the crisis of Jagirdari system and peasant rebellions, the captrue of Indian external and internal trade, to a very great extent by the European trading companies, the Persian nobility along with other components of Mughal nobility and royalty could be held responsible in proportion to its numbers and role.

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1. Jadunath Sarkar; Fall of the Mughal Empire; Vol. IV. Orient Longmen's Ist edition, Calcutta, 1972, 345.
2. Irfan Habib, 'Technology and Economy in Mughal India "The Indian Economic and Social History Review", Vol. XVIII, No: 1, 1980.

Chapter 6

Cultural Contributions: Literature

With the advent of Islam, Persia entered a new phase in its history and culture. The enormous wealth of Persian poetry and Philosophy went a long way in bringing a great deal of transformation is Islam itself, and gave birth to Sufism - a product of the new religious consciousness and national genius of the people of Persia. We have already noted that the Deccan was a kind of happy hunting ground of the Persians and Persian speaking people from over the seas. There was a constant diplomatic relationship between Persia and the Bahamanis, followed by even closer relationships between Persia and the Bahamani Succession states. Unfortunately, Azari Isfarainis metrical historical of the Brahamins called Bahman Nama is lost and its existence can only be survised by many of its verses quoted in Farishta's history.[1] Perhaps the greatest patron of Persian learning during the Bahmani Period was the Bahmani Wazir, Mahmud Gawan (Persian), who arrived at the Bahmani capital. Bidar, from Persia in 1453 and ended his life as the result of a murderous conspiracy in 1481. A.D. In the collection of his letters, called Riyazu - I - Insha, we find his letters to some of the foremost men of learning in Persia such as Maulana Nurud - din Jami, Shaikh Sadrud - din Rawasi, Sharfud - din Alied. Yazdi, Khwaja Shamsud din Juwaini and many others. Besides his letters, which are a paragon of the ornate style then in vogue in the Persian language, he has left us a book

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1. Shervani; Cultural trends in Medieval India; P. 328.

   Kazem Kamran; Iran's Radiant Resurgence; P. 87.

   Wilber; Iran's Past and Present; P. 86.

called Manaziru - Insha on the art of diction in Persian.[1]

Islamic-Persian's influence on Indian Culture has been profound and prolonged For centuries, Persian remained the vehicle of expression of Indian intelligentsia. Persian ideas intermingled with Indian thoughts in such a way as to leave a permanent impression on our culture tradition, language and literature. A number of Sanskrit classics were translated into Persian.[2] The close interaction between the Mughals and the Safavids created an Indo-Persian school in painting, music, Sculpture and architecture.

Persian literature in India is too vast a subject to be discussed. However, it may be pointed out that Persian remained the language of administration under the Mughals. The British retained most of the legal and administrative terms as well as army and police ranks which are still in use. There is also a large number of Persian words in Marathi, Gujarati, Sindhi, Punjabi, Bengali and Hindi. Many Hindu families of Bengal and Maharashtra, have Suranames like Sarkar, Taluqadar, Qanungo, Fardanaois, Wazifadar, etc., signifying the administrative posts or Jagirs held by their ancestors during the Mogul days.[3]

The medieval age in India was noted for its literary activities. However, most of the literature produced in Persian was religious in character. There were hardly any

1. Sherwani; Cultural Trends in Medieval India; P. 94.
2. A.J. Arberry; Classical Persian Literature. London, 1958, P. 200. E.G. Browne; A year amongst the Persians, Cambridge University; Cambridge, 1927, P. 198.
3. Badaoni; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh; vol. III. 190. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; vol. III. 569. A.L. Srivastava; Medieval Indian Culture, P. 124.

original books on Muslim religion; the literature produced on this subject fell in the category of commentaries or commentaries on commentaries. The original religious literature in Persian related to the conversations or discourses of the Sufi Saints. Some of the important conversations were of Sultan Abu Sayed Ab-ul-Khair, Hakim Senayee; Sairul-Abad سیرالعباد Hadiqah; Uvahadi-Isfahani, Jam-e-Jam جام جم (فرید الدین عطار) و منطق الطیر (Farid-ud-din Ahar). Mantik-ul-tair; Mulana Rumi; Masnavi; Mahmud Shabistri, Gulshan-e-Raaz.[1] محمود شبستری گلشن راز

The works are mostly on Tafsir تفسیر Hadis حدیث Fiqh فقہ , Tasawwuf تصوف , Kalam کلام etc.[2]

The Persian works of Hadis contain the sayings of Ali and his descendants, known as Imams, besides those of the Prophit. According to Persians the imams were the custodians of Muhammad's knowledge both esoteric and exoteric, so their narratives embody true prophetic traditions. There are four works of Persian hadis; _the earliest, by Muhmmad ibn Yaqub-al-Kulani (d, 940) is the most important.[3]

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1. Maulana Shibli Nomani; Sher-ul-Ajam; Vol. V, 108-116.
2. Tafsir - A commentary; an explanation or exposition. To review a work on any author or Poet with our own views. Hadis: Tradition sand sayings related to Muhammad his companions, successors; etc. The high, the Prophetic, tradition. Fiqh: Religious jurisprudence. Tasawwuf: Sufisim, mysticism. Kalam: dialectic. See Halim's, New Persian English Dictionary.
3. S.A.S. Rizwi; The Wonder that was India; P. 6.

The works on traditions, jurisprudence and exegesis of the Quran are too many to be recounted. The largest number of works produced were on Kalam[1].

The advent of the Mughals gave an added impetus to Persian literature. Most of the rulers, both at Delhi and in other political centres, were either poets and prose writers in Persian in their own right or else were patrons of the language, Babar was a gifted poet of Turki and Persian as well as an accomplished writer in both these languages. His court had a brilliant set of eminent Persian scholars. Some of them were Ghiyas-ud-Din Mohammed Khwandamir, the celebrated Persian historian and author of the Habib-us-Siyar, حبیب السیر the Kuhlasat-ul-Akbar and many other works; Mir Ibrahim a native of Heart and a skilled performer on Kanun. Apart from these, those who came into close contact with him was Shaikh Zain Khafi, translator of the Waqiyat-i-Babari; and Maulana Baqi, one of the most learned men of the day[2].

As is well known, Humayun had to take refuge in Persia before the on slaught of Sher Shah and was at the court of Shah Tahmasp Safavi of Persia for fifteen long years, and quite naturally he imbibed Persian language to the fullest extent[3].

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1. A.L. Srivastava; Medieval Indian Culture; P. 117
2. Babar; Babarnama; P. 24-28.

   S. M. Jaffar; The Mughal Empire from Babar to Aurangzeb; P. 30
3. Ishwari Prasad; The life and times of HumayuNama; P. 41

   Mithar Jauhar; Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat f f 126 b 127 a . Khwandmir; Humayunnama; P. 18. Radhey Shayam; Babar; . 45.

The Persian historians at the court of Humayun were Khwandamir and Abdul Latif, the learned auther of Lub-ut-Tawarikh لب التواریخ In the South the Progenitor of the Qutb Shahi dynasty was descended from Perso-Turkish progenitors while the 'Adil Shahis of Bijapur claimed descent from the Sultans of Turkey but had adopted Persian as their court language'.

Apart from that, there was a continuous influx of Persians and other Persian speaking peoples into the Deccan from over the seas which created political problems in that region, while in the north even the Central Asians, Turkomans, and others who migrated to India adopted Persian as the language of culture[1].

It was therefore quite natural that Persian should be accorded the fullest opportunities for expansion. If we look at the linguistic trends of Medieval India there is no branch of Persian literature which is not represented in India. In prose, Indo-Persian chronicles, dictionaries encyclopaedias, religious books of merit, and histories and chronicles ranging from universal to local histories abound.

Persian literature of the age may be classified under two heads, viz; original composition and translations. It was a fashion in that age to leave behind oneself a collection of one's letters considered to be models of literary style. The letters of Abul Fazl and of several other writers have come down to us and are considered models of

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1. The expansion of the Persian Language in India was such that in the early days of the British occupateion communications from even the Raja of Travancore (which had never beenunder Muslim rule) to the Governor General used to be in Persian. See list of Exhibits at the Nineteenth Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission, 1942, Nos. 142,143,188.

Persian style of Akbar's age. Persian poetry was in the medieval age the most popular vehicle of literary expresion, and Mughals were particularly fond of it. The Persians nobles were a highly cultured class[1]. They were themselves well versed in the art of writing poetry, were accomplished historians and scholars themselves, and were patrons of learning. Abul Fazl tells us that many poets had a <u>diwan</u> (collection of miscellaneous poems) to their credit and Ain-i-Akbari gives the names of 59 top most Persian poets of Akbar's court. Besides these 15 others, who were supposed to belong to the first category, had sent their composition from Persia[2]. Badaoni wrote about Bairam Khan (Persian)

> "learned men came from all parts of the world to visit him and departed happy in the possession of gifts bestowed by his hand, as open as ocean itself, and his court was high as the sky was the resort of the lords of learning and all perfect. His existence was indeed an honour to the age in which he lived. He was composed a <u>Diwan</u> in Persian"[3]. He further wrote, "In wisdom generosity, sincerity, and goodness of disposition, submissiveness and humility he surpassed all"[4]

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1. Wilber; <u>Iran's Past and Present</u>; P. 87. A. L. Srivastava; <u>The Mughal Empire</u>; P. 125
2. Abul Fazl; <u>Ain-i-Akbari</u>; Vol I, P. 85. Iqtidar Alam Khan, "The Nobility under Akbar and the Development of His Religious policy, 1560-1580 A.B.", <u>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</u>; 1968, P.P. 29-36
3. Badaoni; <u>Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh</u>; Vol. III, 190. Mehdi Husain Nasiri; <u>Sanadid-E-Ajam</u>; P. 292 شہی کہ بگزرد از نہ سپہر افسر او - اگر غلام علیؑ نیست خاک بر سر او (از بیرم خان)
   (Bairam Khan has written this above couplet in respect and praise of Hazrat Ali (A) in which the poet says as the crown is must for a king as the mark of respect, same way for the prosperity of the king and his kingdom the shalter of Hazrat Ali (A) is equally important for him. Means to say that all the Kings of this earth are under Hazrat Ali).
4. Badaoni; <u>Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh</u>; Vol. III, 190. Dharam Bhanu (Bharat). The Mughal Libraries. <u>Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society</u>; 1954, P. 297.

Khan-i-Khanan Abdur-Rahim, son of Bairam Khan was an accomplished scholar in many languages. The assemblies of Khan-i-Khanan were always attended by learned men and poets. Inspite of his constant employment in administrative business he found time occasionally to indulge in the customary recreation of writing verses and collected a large diwan of his poems.[1] He used to say to the Emperor "The boast of your reigns is this that a man like me has lined in it".[2] Abdur Rahims Khan-i-Khanam who wrote under the pen name of Rahim was a master of Persian, Arabic and Turki, he was also a first rate scholar of Sanskrit and an excellent poet of Hindi and Rajasthani. Several hundred verses from his pen have come down to us and are given in an honoured place in our poetic selection. In fact no history of Hindi Poetry can be completed without reference to the contributions of his verses.[3] Some of his best known works are, Barvai Naika Bhed,

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1. Mehdi Husain Nasiri, Sanadid-E-Ajam; P. 292.

بجرم عشق توام می‌کشند و غوغائیست
تو نیز بر سر بام آ که خوش تماشائیست
از رحیمی عبدالرحیم (خانخانان)

Regarding the love and its pure affection for beloved and the opposition of the people of the society and their negative thinking towards the lovers, whether this love for the beloved or god has been always rejected and insulted by the society. Therefore, he says to his beloved that you come and see the condition of your lover that what troubles he is facing. This couplet he has devoted to the god which is influenced by Indian religious philosophy.

2. Dharam Bhanu (Bharat); 'The Mughal Libraries'. Journal of Pakistan Historical Society; 1954, P. 287.

3. Hazari Prasad Dwivedi; Hindi Sahitya Aur Uska Udhbhav our Vikas: Calls Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan as the best among Hindi poets of Akbara's court. He places him in the class of Amir Khusro, P. 125

Ras - Panchadhyaji

Sant Tulsi Dass, writer of Ram Charit Manas, was patronised by Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan. Tulsi Das's Ramayan was written in Barvai couplet, an innovation of Rahim.[1] As a poet of Persian language, he excelled many professional poets at the court. Khan-i-Khanan Abdur Rahim in his times was the greatest patron of Persian art and literature in Persian, Central Asia, Turkey and India. The Persian poets sang the songs in his praise at the Persian court in the face of Shah of Persian himself. A Persian poet Rasmi Qandhari in a very significant poem enumerates his collegues who came to India and thrived under the Khan-i-Khanan.[2] Tuzuk-i-Babari was translated from original Turkish language into Persian by Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan.[3]

"The wit of Birbal and culture and lavish generosity of such noblemen as Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan", according to Mujeeb, "Have made the nobility of the Mughals

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1. C.R. Naik; Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan and his litrary circle, P. 244 says of all Rahim's composition his Dohawali is the most popular. He is said to have written 700 Dohas.

   P.N. Chopra; Life and literature under the Mughals; P. 398.

2. M.A. Ghani; A history of Persian language & literature at the Mughal Court; P. 221.

3. Abul Fazl; Akbarnama; Vol. III, 570.

into legendary figures"[1]. The Khan was an energetic promoter of learning and an eminent pattern of letters. The Masir-i-Rahimi records that ninety five literary personalities enjoyed his patronage in various ways, and many more came to him to become his pupils.

Mash-ud-Din Abul Fath, (Persian) was another literateur of Akbar's court, about whom both Abul Fazl and Badaoni supply us with a favourable information. He was considered among the best writers of the day. A rare copy of his Munshiat has been carefully treasured in the library of the Royal Asiatic society of Bengal Hakim Abul Fath Gilani's letters contribute in writing the history of Akbar's time.[2] He wrote a book

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1. M. Mujeeb; The Indian Muslims; P. 264-65. Persian Nobles like Bairam Khan are Known to have possessed enormous amount of ready wit. Regarding Bairam Khan it is related that one night the Emperor Hamayun was in conversation with Bairam Khan, who was overcome by drowsiness. His Majesty reproving said, "Ha, Bairam Khan ! It is to you that I am speaking." "He replied, "yes Sir, I am attentive, but since I have heard that in the service of kings a watch should be kept on heart, and among learned men a watch should be kept over the tongue. I was just pondering over which I should keep a watch for your Majesty is a king, a darvish and a learned man". His late Majesty was much pleased with this seemly reply, and expressed his approval of it See Badaoni; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh; Vol. III, P. 192.

2. Badaoni; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh; Vol. III. 292.

Ruqqat-I-Chahar Bagh. Urfi, was the renowned poet of Shiraz.[1] In 1590 A.D. Urfi went to Kashmir along with Emperor Akbar and there he wrote a poem entitled Darvasf-e-Kashmir.[2]

Another Persian Naqib Khan spent a generation's time in reading the works on history books, story books the legends and anecdotes both in Hindi and Persian.[3] Besides the Persian nobles also gave patronage to some of the very prominent historians of the

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1. چنان با نیک و بد عرفی بسر کن کز پس مردن
مسلمانت بزمزم شوید و هندو بسوزاند (عرفی)

(regarding the unity and Integrity of human rights, Urfi has shown his full faith in Humanity, and says that we should live or have a life which should be free from any religions and traditional foundations and fundamentalism and we should love by Muslims and Hindus both so that for the peace of soul and pure life and impartial life, Muslims should give us both by the water available only at heaven i.e Zum Zum and Hindus should also pay the equal respect and burried the body as per their traditions. It is a poetry which give us message to have a free life and free from any religious foundations).

2. Maulana Shibli; Sher-ul-Ajam; Vol. III; 70

هر سوخته جانی که بکشمیر در آید
گر مرغ کباب است آن با بال بر آید (عرفی)

Urfi went with the King to Kashmir. During his stay there he wrote a poem entitled 'Darvasf-e-Kashmir'. The above couplet is taken from the same poem. In which he has described the beauty, good weather of Kashmir which he has compare with the heaven and says that the weather of the Kashmir is so beautiful and nice and so full of life that if a roasted chicken comes to Kashmir, gets its life with full of his feathers and wings.

3. Badaoni; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh; Vol. III; 99.

period of Akbar. Arif Qandhari, the author of Tarikh-i-Arif Qandhari, was once in the service of Bairam Khan Khan-I-Khanan. Bayazid, another Persian historian of the period of Akbar had been for a long time in the service of Munim Khan Khan-I-Khanan.[1]

Mulla Ahmad of Thatta, a famous Shia, was a historian and wrote a large portion of the Tarikh-i-Alfi. He was assisnated in 1588 A.D. by a Sunni fanatic, Mirza Fawlad in Lahore. After the Emperor Akbar had left for Kashmir, the Sunnies in Lahore exhumed his dead body and burnt it.[2]

The most learned Persian in theology of Akbar's reign, was Qazi Nurullah Shustari. The Orthodox Sunni Ulama apparently claimed that his potential work, the Ihqaqul-Haqq, was subversive and posed a threat to Sunnism. The Qazi was undoubtedly executed (1610 A.D.) solely to please the Sunni Ulama.[3]

There was Persian nobles who possessed multifacet knowledge. Ashraf Khan Mir Munshi was a poet, a clever writer exact in style and a renowned calligrapher, perhaps the first of his age in writing the Taliq and Nastiliq Character. He also understood witch crafts. He was well qualified to instruct the best calligraphist of the world is the seven different styles of penmanship.[4] About Jaffar beg, Asaf Khan, Badaoni wrote "His poetic

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1. S.A.S. Rizvi: Religious and Intellectual History of the Muslims in Akbar's Reign; PP 222-298. Harbans Mukhia; Historians and Historiography During the reign of Akbar; P.127.
2. Amir Khusaru; Khazain-ul-Futuh; PP. 60-61.
3. Ibid; 113-121.
4. Badaoni; Muntakhab-ut-Twarikh; Vol III; 181.

genius is greater than that of all his contemporaries. But is restricted by not being exercised owing to his love of pleasure and ease and the great demands made upon his official business".[1] In playing Hindu Music, beating drums Zain Khan Koka had no rival in his age.[2] .

Not only the Persian nobles tried their hands at writing poetry but also employed some poets at their court. Some of the Persian nobles who employed the poets in their service were Barium Khan Khan-i-Khanan, Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan and Yasuf Khan. Thus, they evinced the respect in which they held the accomplished people. These poets wrote all types of poems Masanvi, (heroic verse) Qasidah (Ode) and complied collections of poems. Some of the poets who served under the Persian nobles were Ghazi of Mashed (Persia), Ulfati of Yazd. Tazanari of Abhor from Turkey enjoyed the generosity of Bairam Khan. Hayati of Gilan had the recommendation of Abul Fath to get imperial service. Sayyafi and Manzari of Samarkand with Bairan Khan, Mudami of Humdan with Mir Muhammed Khan Muqimi of Sabzavari Ahdi of Shiraj were other poets[3]. It will also be observed that they belonged to different places. The poets who served under the Persian nobles were still numerous. These poets wrote poems, some of them in praise of their employers or their sons. There were some other Persian poets who have not been able to attract notice. They were Mirza Rustam who wrote under the title

1. Badaoni; Muntakhab-ut-Twarikh; Vol III; 216.

2. Ibid; 236.

3. Badaoni; Muntakhab - ut-Tawarikh, Vol. II, 42.

of Fidai, Ali Qulikhan Khan-i-Zaman who wrote under the title of Sultan. Hakim Ain-ul-Mulk used to write under the poetical name of the Davai.[1]

Akbar had established a translation department which functioned under his personal supervision. This was done to bring about a fusion of Hindu and Muslim Cultures and to provide a common literature to the intelligentsia of the land. Many notable works of Sanskrit Arabic, Turki and Greek were translated into Persian, the court language which was made compulsory for all state employees to learn. Under this scheme, a part of Zich-i-Jadid-i-Mirzari زیچۂ جدید میرزری was translated into Persian by Amir Fathullah Shirazi. The Mahabharat was rendered into Persian by Naqib Khan.

When Persian nobles were impressed by a couplet or a song, they would offer to the poet a handsome reward. To Hijaz Khan Bedaoni for a Qasidah which in the maqata he dedicated to Bairam Khan, the Khan gave a lac of Tanks and made him supervisors of the Government of Sirhind.[2] To Hashim Khan whose Gazal was published by Khan-i-Khanan (Bairam Khan) as his own, he paid lac of tanks in reward.[3] Similarly even when his treasury was depleted Khan-i-Khanan paid at one sitting a lac of tankas to Ram Das, a musician who was Khan-i-Khanan's companion and intimate associate and was second only to Tansen as a singer.[4] Some times, the Persian nobles changed the poetic names

1. Badaoni; Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh, Vol. III; 213.

   A.L. Srivastava; Medieval Indian Culture, P. 128.

2. Badoni; Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh; Vol. II, 42.

3. Ibid; 41.

4. Ibid; 42. His voice was soul rendering and would bring tears to Bairams' eyes.

of persons. Bairam Khan asked Farigi of Shiraz to change his name since the name which he had assumed was the poetical name of Abdul Wajd of Khawaf.[1]

Persian literature continued to flourish under Akbar's Successors. It can be gathered from the Tazki - I - Jahangiri that the Emperor used to associate himself with learned men, divines, and recluses on Friday evenings. Jahangir, like his ancestoss, extended liberal patronage to learned men who produced works of merit. Commentaries on the Quran continued to be written, and poetry was produced in profusion. However the department of Translation seens to have gone into disuse.[2]

NurJahan was a Persian by birth and was a quite good in the literature of Persian. She herself wrote poetry[3] and sang it through her melodious voice. She used to sing herself to please Jahangir. It is said that their happy married life was based on their love for music.[4]

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1. Badaoni; Muntkhab-ut-Tawarikh; Vol. III, 292

2. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, P. 300.

3. نورجہاں گشت بحکم آلہ – ہمدم وہمراز جہانگیر شاہ

   (Whenever Nur Jahan passed any order, she always writes her above couplet with her farmans. This order is given by NurJahan, who is the companion and confident of King Jahangir.

4. Sugam Ahmad; History of Begum Nur Jahan; New Delhi, Radha Publication, 1992, P. 45.

Some of the best Persian Scholars attached to his court were Nimatullah, the historiographer who crytallised into a break the material accumulated by Haibat Khan of Samana about the history of the Afghans; Muza Ghiyas Beg, the able arithmatician, who also stood splended and unsurpassed in the elegance of composition; Naqib Khan, the most honoured historians, who wrote a number of books on history.

Abul Fateh Gilani and Abdur - Rahim Khan-i-Khanan established an academy of poetry.[1] Khan Zaman was also a great patron of poets.[2] Mirza Sahib Isfahani was also a great peot. Two great Persian Poets of Jahangir's reigan were Nazir of Nishapur[3] and Talib-i-Amuli were the poet laureate at the court of Jahangir. In 1628 A.D. he wrote the well known couplet.[4]

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1. R.P. Khosla: Mughal Kingship and Nobility; P. 296.

2. Ibid; P. 297.

3. Maulana Shibli; Sher-ul-Ajam; Vol. III, P. 112.

ناگاه در آمد ز درم بانگ که گوید
فرمان طلب آمده از شاه فلان را (نظیری)

(In 1612 A.D. Naziri was invited by Jahangir after he became Emperor. Nazari devoted this coupiet in respect of king, he says I am highly obliged and respective by the king who has invited me to his court by which I am very much delighted too).

4. ازین نشاط مگر دست آسمان لرزید
که باز در کف خاقان نگار افتد (طالب آملی)

(Whatever the joy and affection we enjoyed at our mother land is so intense that the heaven is too proud of it and the kingdom is equally good and respective.

Jami's poem Yusuf wa Zulaikha, copied by the greatest of Persian calligraphists. Mir Ali, for which Jahangir paid 1,000 gold Mohars[1].

During Shahjahan's reign Persian, being the court language, received greater encouragement, and an enormous mass of literature was produced in it.[2] By this time two distinct schools of writers had come into existence, the Indo - Persian School and the purely Persian school. The first outstanding representatives of the former school, who standardised the style, was Abul Fazl. The Persian language had come to stay in India, and it could not for long keep itself aloof from its new and powerful environments. It absorbed Indian ideas, Indian thoughts and it was used for Indian subjects. The Indo - Persian style developed because it was excessively patronised at court. Abul Fazl's works instinctively appealed to Shahjahan because their language was so ornate.

The second school, the Purely Persian School, was favoured by officers who were either of Persian origin or who traced their decent from Persian stock.

In the early part of the reign of Shahjahan Mulla Shukrullah (Persian), surnamed Afzal Khan patronised a large number of Persian scholars, among whom Aminal Qazvini and Jalalu-ud-din Tabatabai are the two most important. Their works stand in a striking contrast to those of their Indian compeers, and boldly bringout the difference between the two styles The oldest Poet of purely Persian school living at the court of Shahjahan was Saidai Gilani who ever since the reign of Jahangir had held the post of Darogha-i-Zargrer Khanna or Head of the Department of Jewellery.

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1. Jadunath Sarkar; Studies in Mughal India; P. 282

2. Abdul Hamid Lahori, The Padshah Nama, P. 121-122.

Sahajahan, like his father and grand father, continued the policy of patronising learned men and poets, prominent Persians among whom were Abu Talib (Whose pen name was Kalim)[1] and Haji Muhammad JanMirza Sayeb was also a famous poet. A good deal of historical literature was produced during his time. Abdul Hamid Lahori, the court historian, wrote Padshah-Nama. Another Persian scholar of repute named Aminai Qazwini, produced another Padshah-Nama and Muhammad Salih produced Amal-i-Salih.[2]

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1. His Diwan collection consists of Qasidas mostly add to Shahjahan, masnavis describing the buildings erected by him and a Saqinama composed for Zafar Khan, governor of Kashmir.

   In 1639 A.D. when Shahjahan sat on the throne, 'Takht-e-Taaus', on the day of the Nauroj. On this special and particular occasion Talib wrote a following Qasida for Shahjahan.

   خجسته مقدم نوروز و غرهٔ شوال
   فشانده اند چه گلهای عیش بر سر حال (طالب آملی)

   (On the great occasion of the Nauroj the king has given it more value and has increased the joy of this festival by sitting on the new throne (the pea-cock-throne) which was beyond the evaluation but its become valuable only occupying by the king). See. Maulana Shibli; Sher-ul-Ajam; Vol. III, 170.

2. S.M. Jaffar; The Mughal Empire from Babar to Aurangzeb; P. 275.

   A.L. Srivastava; Medieval Indian Culture; P. 129.

   Sherwani; Cultural Trends in Medieval India; P. 89-90.

Other famous Persian Poets and scholars of his reign were Maulana Muhib Ali Sayyadi, Mir Abdul Qasim Irani, Mirza Zia-ud-Din, Shaikh Naziri and Mullah Muhammad Fazil Badakhshi.[1]

Mir Askari, afterwards surnamed Aqil Khan, was a native of Khawaf (in Persia). He entered the service of Aurangzeb in Shahjahan's reign and attended the Prince during his second Vice-royality of the Deccan (1652-1657 A.D.) as his equerry (Jilandar).He had already made his mark as a poet and adapted the pen name of Razi from the saint Burhan ud din Raz-ullah whom he venerated.

Aurangzeb was a critical scholar of Muslim theology and jurisprudence, but he had no taste for Poetry, and was opposed to the writing of the history of his reign. Yet several important histories were written during his time, though not with his patronage. Some of them were the Muntakhab-ul-lubab by Khafi Khan, Alamgir - Nama by Mirza Muhammad Qazim.[2]

Aurangzib disliked poets as lying flatterers and their poetry as bain babblings; but his daughter Zeb-un-nissa's liberality compensated for the lack of court patronage of literature in that reign, and most of the poets of the time were maintained by her. Supported by her bounty, a Persian Mullah Safiuddin Ardbeli lived in Comfort in Kashmir and translated the giganatic Arabic Tafsir -i - Kabir (Great Commentary) into Persian and named it after his patroness Zeb - ut- tafasir.

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1. B.P. Saxena; History of Shah Jahan of Delhi; P. 98.

2. Bernier; Travels in the Mugal Empire; P. 15.

The most authoritative and elaborate digest of Muslim law, known as the Fatwa-i-Alamgiri, was produced by a syndicate of theologians under the orders of Aurangzeb. Although Aurangzeb was not an author himself, his letters and records of his conversations have been collected under the titles of Kalimat - I - Tayyibat, Rukkat - i - Alamgiri and Abab -i-Alamgiri, and they show some light on the Character of the Emperor and the general conditions in the Empire. Two rather Striking books show how much Hindu learning had penetrated among the Muslims. Abu Said at Humain Compiled Nijami - i -Anjum on Hindu astrology, and Mirza Fakhrud din wrote the Tuhfatu- Hind on Hindu prosody and rhetoric.[1] Some of the famous Persian poets and Historians of Aurangzeb's reign were Jalalyee Tabatabai, (who wrote), Tauqikat- e - Kisra .Mirza Muhammad son of Hakim Muhammad Fath-ud-din Shirzai , another Persian who was given title of Niamat Khan Ali by Aurangazib.[2] Later on given another title Muqarrab Khan.

During Bahadur Shah Zafar reign he was given another title of Danishmand Khan and he was appointed to write Shahnama but he died in the year 1121 Hijari. His

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1. Jadunath Sarkar; History of Aurangzeb P. 127.

2. When the loyality of Niamat Khan Ali's loyalty was question before Aurangzeb by the Sunni Ulemas and Ali Quli was examined before the king in presence of entire court than Ali Quli Khan :said , "Bahrah Guftam Batuh - e - Shairyar,
بارھا گفتم بتوای شہریار۔ چار یارم چار یارم چار یار -
This way Ali Quli Khan saved his life, the criticism of his loyalty towards the king being a Shia and also succeed to get the faith of Aurangzeb.

famous works were Waqaye-e-Nehmat Khan Ali; Jang Namay-e-Nehmat Khan Ali Mazahkat and collection of Qasidas and ghazals; He was well known for prose and poetry.[1]

Al least two of the Bahmani Succession states are noted for their promotion of Persian learning, namely Bijapur and Golkonda. All the kings of Golkonda from Jamshid (1543-50 A.D.) onwards were poets of some note. There was so much influx of Persian historians, poets and litterateurs in the time of Ibrahim Qutb Shah (1550-80 A.D.) that an outlet had to be found for the seething millions of the walled city of Golkonda, leading to the founding of the city of Haidarabad in 1592 A.D. The Persificaiton of the new capital was so complete that in one of his odes the Peshwa of the kingdom, Mir Mumin, addressing Muhammad Qutb Shah in 1611 A.D., says that while Shah Abbas had completely remodelled his capital, Isfahan the king of Tilang had converted Haidarabad into a second Isfahan.

The Peshwa Ibn-i-Khatun, who had served as the Qutb Shahi envoy to Persia, took a personal interest in Persian studies in the Kingdom. Here it is necessary to mention Ali b. Taifur Bustami's Hadaiqu's Salatin[2] complied in 1681 A.D., which is a collection of lives of eminent Persian and Indo Persian poets; the Persian dictionary Burhan-i-Qati by Muhammad Husain Tabrizi, complied in the reign of Abdullah Qutb Shah in

1. Mehdi Husain Nasiri; Sanadid-e-Ajam; P. 328.

2. Sherwani, Cultural trends in Medieval India; P. 95

1651 A.D.; Abu Imad's encyclopaedic, Khirqatul-Ulam in six volumes; and Mir Mumin's small but extremely useful and scientific brochure, the Risala-i-Miqdariyah[1], which deals with a minute description of weights and measures current in his days.

To make a bare list of the Persian literary figures, authors who have enriched the Persian language during the Mughal period would be a very lengthy one indeed. What is important is that Persian learning equally attracted both Hindus and Muslims all over India and was a symbol of the general trend of the cultural good will which existed in the country.

1. Sherwani; Cultural trends in Medieval India; P 95.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

Persia through the ages has been known for considerable part of its history, to be one of most impressive centre and of Asiatic heritage with its numerous facets - whether it was the monarchical form of government; its implied form of history writing that centered around the king and the court, or its impressive empire building, its wizards in the field of administration and diplomacy, its unique contribution in the field of literature, art and architecture, trade and commerce.

Persians are basically Parsis are also called Pars and after the attack of Arabs it is converted into Fars. Due to the lack of the letter P in the Arabic language and the P was changed by F and called by new name Fars and their language Pehlavi was called Farsi. The Iranshar (the old name of Iran) is derived name of its origin word Eir or Era (Pahlavi words) means pure and pious character.

Uneducated, uncivilized and uncultured Arabs who kept Persia under their control (622-748 A.D) for several years and treated them as slaves. The Khalifas converted Persians and forced them to adapt the tradition, culture and religion of Islam. During the reign of Arabs we get the three main changes in Iranshar and the country Persia i.e. that Zorostrianism was replaced by Islam. The second impact was on the language and Persian languages like Pehlavi, Aasghani, Sugali, Amadi and the script of these languages were changed and adapted by Arabic script with slight changes in the pronunciation of few letters. However, the great Persians who were basically Aryans, did not adapt the language and religion of Arabs in total but they kept their separate old

identity and they also held their old Aryan customs. traditions, life-style, the original language and their well cultured and educated nature. behaviour and above all power of tolerance too.

Arabs also understood it very well that the Persian kings and their nobility, ranks, titles, administration, economic policies, social systems had deep roots and fame in entire world. Therefore, the Khalifas appointed many outstanding Persians in their tenure of Kingship, especially on the post and matters related to finance, army and foreign policies. These things were not new for the Persians because the first Kings of Persia Zurtust. 'Darust', Parathians and Acamenians and the famous Kings of their reigns like 'Darust'. 'Nausherwani', 'Faridin' 'Jaal' had been to India in ancient period. After the Arabs the Persian nobility was adapted by Mahmud Gaznavi, Changiz Khan and the rulers of Taimur dynasty.

The Sultanate had brought an amalgam of Perso-Arabic institutions to India. Persians played an active role during the Sultanate period which led to the political ascendency enjoyed by them in northern India. The outstanding Persian nobles during the Sultanate period were Nizam-ul-MulkJunaidi; Fakhr-ul-Mulk Isami, Zafar Khan Cultural legacy of Persians for Delhi Sultanate came to Surface with the invasion of India by Mahmud of Ghazni. Many famous poets and literati were al-Biruni (Tarikh-i-Hind), Nizami's, Taj - ul-Maasir, Isami, Futuh-us-Salatin

It must be noted that basically the mode of writing history, brought in by the Persian tradition centred around the King and the court and it influenced the pattern of history writing for many centuries in India.

The impact and contribution of Persian nobility can be seen in all the aspects and facets of the Mughal empire in India.......... 1526 to 1739 A.D. of the period under review. Not only did both Babar and Humayun receive most crucial help from Persian royalty and nobility at the most critical junctures of their career in the foundation and holding on to their empire in India; the Persian nobles led the Mughal armies towards the foundation of the largest empire India ever had ---- right from Bairam Khan, Muzaffar Khan Turbati, Asaf Khan Ghiyas-ud-din Ali, Sadiq Khan, Mahabat Khan, Abul Hasan, Ali Mardan Khan, Ruh-ullah Khan to Muhammad Ismail and Asad Khan.

Down the ages history has Universally proved the facts that no ruler, howsoever diligent can discharge single handed, the multifarious functions of administration as an old proverb proclaims, "the bravest of men require arms and the wisest of Kings, ministers". Persian nobility contributed also towards the consolidation of the Mughal Empire through their tremendous contribution in the administrative set - up of the Mughals. The most outstanding contributions in this respect were made by Bairam Khan, Asaf Khan Jaffer Beg, Khwaja Abdul Majid, Itimad-ud-daula, Sharif Khan, Islam Khan Mashhadi, Sadullah Khan, Bahramand Khan and Zulfiqar Khan.

In the significant role that the Persian nobility played can hardly be denied. Whether it was Bairam Khan who dictated and moulded the first five years of Akbar's reign or Mahabat Khan who wanted to, "uphold the prestige of the crown vis-a-vis, the King" The influence of the Persian nobility for a number of factors already discussed reached its pinnacle during the reign of Jahangir. While the direct role of the groups or the individuals of the Persian nobility - Amir Khan, Ishaq Khan and Saadat Khan, in

inviting Nadir Shah has yet to be fully evidence, their furthering the cause of Nadir Shah even if done unwitingly and directed by the petty court politics cannot be denied.

The role of the Persian nobility regarding the economy of the Mughal empire has been studied under two broad categories i.e. their contribution at the level of land revenue administration and secondly in industry and trade. The contributions of Asaf Khan, Muzaffar Khan, Shah Mansur, Mir Fatheullah shirazi, with his famous 20 proposals regarding land revenue administration and Shams-ud-din Khawafi, Itimad-ud-daula and Murshid Quli Khan --- all contributed not only enraising the actual land revenue but also in providing some relief measurers for the peasants.

The role of the Persian nobility as the patterns of 'Industry' and trade i.e. in the establishment and patronage of the Kharkhanas markets or Bazars and 'Dadani or capital in advance form encouraged the specific form of the Bazars and Kharkhanas that prevailed_ in the Mughal times. Nor can the role of the Persian nobility though meant primarily on their own prosperity - in internal and external trade monopolies by nobles like Asaf Khan, Shaista Khan and Mir Jumla can be overlooked. Their role as Jagirdars could be both constructive and destructive as per the state and situation of the Mughal empire.

History and culture have bound the peoples of Persia and India in an intimate relationship, particularly in the field of literature and art. The fact that the Persian remained the court language of Mughals, indicates the extent of its impact on the Turko-Mongol-Mughals.

The original literature in Persian related to the conversations or discourses of the Sufi Saints i.e. Hakim Seenayee; Sairul Abad Uvahadi Isfahani; Jam-e-Jam. The advent

of the Mughals gave an added impetus to Persian literature. The most outstanding and eminent Persian scholars were author of Habid-us-Siyar, Abdul Latif Lub-ul-Tawarikh; Abdur Rahim Masir-i-Rahimi; Tuzuk-i-Babari was translated from original Turkish language into Persian by Abdur Rahim. Another famous literateur were Masih-ud-din Abul Fath's, Munshiat; Hakim Abul Fath Gilani's Ruqqat-i-Chahar Bagh. Mulla Ahmad of Thatta who wrote a large position of Tarikh-i-Alfi; and Qazi Nurullah Shustari, Ihaqaqul-Haqq. Some Persian scholars did translation work also. Fathullah shirazi translated a part of Zich-i-Jadid-i-Mirzari into Persian and Naqib Khan translated Mahabharat into Persian.

Other outstanding Persian scholars attached to the Mughal Empire were Niamatullah Khan who wrote about history of Afghans; Aminal Qazivini produced another Shahnama;. Saifud-din Ardbeli translated Tafsir-i-Kabir into Persian and named it Zeb-ut-tafasir. Jalalyee Tabatabai wrote Tauqiat-e-Kirsa, Nehmal Khan Ali's famous work Waqaye-e-Nehmat Khan Ali; Jang Nama-e-Nehmat Khan Ali.

Persian poetry was in the medieval age the most popular vehicle of literary expression, and Mughals were particularly fond of it. Persians were themselves well versed in the art of writing poetry. Bairam Khan composed a Diwan in Persian Abdur Rahim was a master of Persian, Arabic and Turki, he was also a first rate scholar of Sanskrit and an excellent poet of Hindi. Some of his best Known works are Barvai Naika Bhed; Ras-panchadhyayi etc. Urfi, poet of Shiraz wrote a poem Darvasf-e-Kashmir. Other eminent Persian poets were Naziri, Talib-i-Amuli, Saidai Gilani, Abu Talib, Aqilkhan, Maulana Muhib Ali Sayyadi, Mir Abdul Qasim Irani.

To write a bare list of the poets, prose writers, astronomers, Physicians and others who have enriched the Persian language during the Mughal period would be very lengthy one indeed. What is important that Persian learning equally attracted both Hindus and Muslims all over India.

The most fascinating aspect of Muslim history in India is Indo-Persian architecture. The horse shoe shape of the central opening of the Alai-Darwaza was never imitated, but its grace and charm cannot be questioned. Persian curvilinear architecture is juxtaposed with traditional Hindu ornamentation in different mosques. The niches and false windows give a unique lightness and airiness to Humayun's tomb. The Kiosks, or Chatris, at its corners make the mausoleum typically Indo-Persian. The elegant mausoleum of Itimad-ud-daula, marks the transition from the pre-Shahjahan era to the phase of Shahjahan's imperial Structures. The elegance and majesty of the Taj Mahal, ensured its place as one of the wonders of the world. The Taj owes its architecture, garden, layout and inscribing of the 'Ayats' to Muhammad Khan Shirazi' Muhammad Sharif Samaraqandi, Ata Muhammad Bokhra. The imagination and sensitivity of its designer made it unparalleled flower of Indo - Persian Civilization.

Humayum a man of considerable Churn was also known to have delighted in "art, literature, good company and royal ways". He contributed to the establishment of a school of Mughal painting, by bringing back the Persian artists Mir Sayyid Ali and Abdus Samad from the court of Shah Tahmasp in Persia. Both these artists, later on were to become the back-bone of the atelier of Akbar.

With the coming into power of Akbar a fusion book place between the tradition of historical writing and the tradition of Painting, and what emerged was a tradition of

illustrated historical manuscripts. The Mughal miniature was another important aspect of the blossoming of Indo Persian civilization.

The subtle refinement of Hindi music, combined with Persian conventions and artistry, gave fresh meaning and depth to Indian Sufi Sama (musical). The music was played and the poets recited panegyrical poems. Singers sang Hindi mixed Persian songs in praise of the Sultan. The most outstanding Persians during the Mughal reigns were Subhan Khan, Sarud Khan, Muhammad Khan Dhari, Rahmatullah, Ustad Dost of Meshad, Mir Sayyid Ali of Meshad, Sultan Hashim of Meshad - all expert in the art of instrumental performers.

A new style in garden which had been developed in Persia and Turkistan was brought to India by Babar. Babar transplanted his love for them into Indian soil. There were many famous Persians who laid out gardens in India i.e. Abdu Rahim Khan-i-Khanan laid out Bagh-i-Fath and Lal Bagh at Burhanpur. Asaf Khan laid out Nishat Bagh at Srinagar. Fidai Khan erected a fine garden at Pinjore.

It would not be an exxageration to state that without the Persian Nobility the Mughal Empire would not have been what it was-right from its inception to it decay in 1739- even when its negative aspect is well taken into account there is much on the positive side-in retrospect the latter having left its lasting and enriching imprint on the Mughal State and culture.

APPENDIX

Notable Persian nobles during the Mughal Period 1526 to 1739 A.D.

S.No.	Name and Title	Mansab *	Source
1.	Saif Ali Beg		A.N. I, 381 M.U.I, 368
2.	Baqirkhan Najm Sani		M.U.I, 385
3.	Muhammad sultan Mirza		M.U.II Part I, 207
4.	Nur-ud-din		M.U. I, 460, AA, II, 513
5.	Tughai Shah		Mohibbul Hasan Babar, 164.
6.	Sultan Ahmad		Mohibbul Hasan Babar, 164.
7.	Shah Husain		Mohibbul Hasan Babar, 164.
8.	Muhammad Ali		Mohibbul Hasan Babar, 164.
9.	Khwaja Husain		Babarnama II, 551
10.	Shaikh Zain Khafi		Babarnama II, 24-28
11.	Ghiyas-ud-din Muhammad Khwandamir		Babarnama, II 24-28
12.	Ahmad sultan Shamlu		Tazkira, P 4-7
13.	Husain quli Sultan Shamlu		Tazkira, P 4-7
14.	Haidar Sultan Shaibani		Tazkira, P 4-7
15.	Ali Quli Shabani		M.U.I., 196
16.	Ali Sultan Taqlu Kadul Ughali		Tazkira, P 4-7
17.	Mirza Askari		Tazkira, P 35-36
18.	Qasim Husain Sultan Shaibani		Tazkira, P 35-36

* Though the rudiments of the Mansabdari system had existed prior to Akbar, the term Mansab has not been used to indicate the rank of an officer.

S.No.	Name and Title	Mansab *	Source
19.	Sher Afghan		Tazkira, P 35-36
20.	Ismail Beg		Tazkira, P 35-36
21.	Mir Sayyid Barka		Tazkira, P 35-36
22.	Muhammad Ali		Tazkira, P 35-36
23.	Shah Abul Maali		Tazkira, P 35-36
24.	Mir Asghar Munshi		M.U.I, 301
25.	Sayyid Ali Mussanar (Chitrakar)		Tazkira, P 52-53
26.	Maulana Abdul Samad Mussanar (Chitrakar)		Tazkira, P 52-53
27.	Maulana Dost Mussavar (Chitrakar)		Tazkira, P 52-53
28.	Khawaja Qasim Ali		Tazkira, P 52-53
29.	Khawaja Abul Qasim Mashedi		Tazkira, P 52-53
30.	Khawaja Ghazi Shirazi		Tazkira, P 52-53
31.	Abdus Samad		M.U. II 816
32.	Abd-i Majid		M.U.I, 16
Mansabs Granted to Persian Nobles by Akbar			
33.	Mirza Muzaffar Hussain	5000	A.A., 327-28; MU.II. 350-54
34.	Bairam Khan	5000	T.A. 425, A.A. 329-32, M.U.I 368-78, T.I. 371-84.
35.	Ali Quli Khan Khan-i-Zaman	5000	T.A. 427, a.A. 357-37, M.U.I. 197-207, T.I. 622-30.
36.	Bahadur Khan	5000	T.A. 428, A.A. 347. M.U.I. 348-50. T.I. 384-87.
37.	Mirza Abdur Rahim	5000	T.A. 426-27, A.A. 354-61. M.U.II 50-65, T. I.693-713.

S.No.	Name and Title	Mansab	Source
38.	Zain Khan	5000	T.A. 431, A.A. 367-69, M.UII 1022-28, T.II, 362-70.
39.	Mirza Yusaf Khan	4500	T.A. 435, A.A. 369-72. M.U.II 1001-07, I.III 314-21
40.	Muzaffar Khan Tarbati	4000	T.A. 433, A.A. 373-75, M.U.II 359-64, T.I. 221-27.
41.	Sayf Khan	4000	T.A. 429, A.A. 375-76. M.UII 686-888, I.II 373-75.
42.	Wazir Khan	4000	T.A. 432, A.A. 379-80. M.U.II 884-86. I.III. 929-32.
43.	Sadiq Khan	4000	T.A. 435, A.A. 382-83. M.U. II 658-62, I.II 724-29.
44.	Abdul Majid Asaf Khan	3000	T.A. 430, A.A. 395. 999 M.U.I 36-40, T.I. 77-83
45.	Afzal Khan	3000	A.A. 408, M.U.I 141-49 T.I. 65-67.
46.	Qasim Khan	3000	A.A. 412-13, M.U.II 511-14 T.III 62-66.
47.	Mirza Muizul Mulk	3000	A.A. 414-15, M.U.II 238-40. T.III 227-31
48.	Mir Ali Akbar	3000	A.A. 414-15, M.U.II 177-78 T.III 237-32
49.	Fathullah Shirazi	3000	A.N. III, 687, M.U.I. 543.
50.	Ashraf Khan Mir Munshi	2000	T.A. 432, A.A. 423-24 M.U.I. 301-02, T.A.I 73-75
51.	Shah Fakr-id-Din	2000	T.A. 436
52.	Lashkar Khan	2000	A.A. 446-47, M.U.I. 830-31, T.A. 442.
53.	Shah Muhammad Khan of qalat	2000	A.A. 448-49, M.U.I 756-64, T.II 542-53

S.No.	Name	Mansab	Source
54	Asaf Khan	2000	A.A. 451-54, M.U.I 382-87.
55	Khwaja Jahan Amina	1000	T.A. 441, A.A. 467-68, M.U. 1823-24, T. I 630-32.
56	Tatar Khan	1000	A.A. 468, M.U. II 949-50, T.I. 478.
57	Mujahid Khan	1000	T.A. 449
58	Jafar Khan	1000	A.A. 47-71, M.U.I 721, T.I. 507-09
59	Asad Ullah Khan	1000	A.A. 471-72
60	Khwaja Shah Mansur	1000	A.A. 475-77, M.U.II 750-55, T.I. 653-59
61	Adil Khan	1000	A.A. 478
62	Khawaja Ghiasuddin	1000	A.A. 442, A.A. 479.M.U.I 280-82, T.I. 90-93
63	Farukh Husain Khan	1000	A.A. 127
64	Razami Khan	900	A.A. 446, A.A. 485-86
65	Hakim Zanbil	900	A.A. 490
66	Shah Ghaji Khan	900	A.A. 491
67	Khwaja Shams-ud-din Khawafi	900	T.A. 453, A.A. 493-95 M.U.II 804-07, T.I 664-69
68	Naqib Khan	900	T.A. 450, A.A. 496-98, M.U. II 381-84, T.III 812-17
69	Mir Murtza Khan	600	T.A. 445, A.A. 498-99
70	Mir Jamal-ud-din Husain Inju	900	T.A. 453, A.A. 499-501
71	Sharif Amuli	900	T.A.451, A.A. 502-04, M.U.II 812-16, T.III 285-90

S.No.	Name	Mansab	Source
72.	Darbar Khan	700	T.A. 448, A.A. 517, M.U. 1453, T. II 1-3
73.	Hakim Ali of Gilan	700	A.A. 519-21, M.U.I 180-84, T.I. 568-73
74.	Mir Abdul Qasim Namkin	700	A.A. 525-27, M.U.II 508-11, T.III 74-78
75.	Tahir Khan	700	A.A. 528
76.	Muhammad Qulij Khan	600	T.A. 455, A.A. 528-29, M.U.II 186-87, T.II 342-43
77.	Bukhtiar Beg, Qurdi Shah Mansoor	600	T.A. 455, A.A.529.
78.	Hakim Human	600	A.A. 529-30, M.U.I. 606-07, T.I. 563-65
79.	Sahi Khan of Hirat	500	T.A. 447, A.A. 531
80.	Munsif Khan	500	A.A. 532
81.	Shah Quli Khan Naranji	500	T.A. 447, A.A. 536-37, M.U.II 776-77, I, II 658-61.
82.	Shadman	500	T.A. 455, A.A. 537
83.	Hakim Ain-ul-Mulk	500	A.A. 537, M.U.I. 172-73, T.I 562-63.
84.	Mir Tahir Musawi	500	A.A. 538
85.	Khwajgi Muhammad Husain	500	A.A. 542, M.U.II. 140, T.I 671-72
86.	Abdul Qasim	500	T.A. 453, A.A. 542
87.	Qamar Khan	500	A.A. 542-43, M.U.II, 487-88, T.III 53-54.
	(Mansabs Granted to Persian nobles by Jahangir)		
88.	Sharif Khan	5000	Tuzuk I, 13

S.No.	Name	Mansab	Source
89.	Ghiyas Beg/Itimad-ud-daula	7000	Tuzuk 1, 200
90.	Khwaja Abul Hasan	6000	Tuzuk 1, 16, M.U.I, 290.
91.	Iradat Khan	5000	Tuzuk 1, 324.
92.	Mahabat Khan	4000/3500	M.U. I, 10, Tuzuk I, 217
93.	Itiqad Khan	4000	M.U.I. 714, Tuzuk 1, 386.
94.	Darab Khan	5000	M.U.I., 450-451.
95.	Sadiq Khan	4000	Tuzuk I, 360
	(Mansabs Granted to Persian nobles by Shahjahan)		
96.	Iradat Khan	5000	M.U.I 685.
97.	Abzal Khan	5000	M.U.I 695
98.	Islam Khan	5000	M.U.I, 694
99.	Muhammad Amin	5000	M.U.II, Part I, 119
100.	Sadullah Khan	5000	M.U.I, 700
101.	Jafar Khan	4000	M.U.I, 722
102.	Danishmand Khan	3000	M.U.I., 442
Mansabs Granted to Persian Nobles by Aurangzeb and Later Mughals			
103.	Lashkar Khan	3000	M.U.I. 834
104	Mirza Abu Talib. Shaista Khan, Amir-ul-Umara	7000/7000(2-34)	Al. 130. M.U.II 690-707
105	Mir Malik Husain. Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur, zafar Jang Kokaltash	7000/7000 (6000 x 2-3H)	M.A.142.A.M.T.1219.

S.No.	Name	Mansab	Source
106.	Mir Muhammad Said, Mir Jumla, Mizzam Khan, Khan-i-Khanan, Sipahasalar	7000/7000 (5000 x 2-3h)	Al. 568, M.U., III 530-55.
107.	Khalilullah Khan	6000/6,000 (2-3h)	Al. 119, M.U., I 775-82
108.	Shah Nawaz Khan Safui	6000/6000 (5000 x 2-3h)	Al 209-10, M.U., II 670-76
109.	Umdal-ul-Mulk Jafar Khan	6000/6000(4000 x 2-3h)	Al. 162, M.U., I 531-35
110.	Mirza Lahrasp, Mahabat Khan	6000/5000(3000 x 2-3h)	Al. 754, M.U., III 590-95.
111.	Muhammad Amin Khan	6000/5000(1000x2-3h)	Al. 813, 855, M.U., III, 613-20
112.	Mir Muzaffar Husain, Fedai Khan Koka Azam Khan	6000/4000	Al. 1061, M.U.,I 247-53.
113.	Shaikh Mir Khawafi	5000/5000 (2-3h)	M.U., II 668-70
114.	Muhammad Qasim, Qasim Khan, Mir Tamad Khan	5000/5000 (2-3h)	M.U.., III 95-99
115.	Saiyid Mir Khawafi, Amir Khan	5000/5000(1000 x 2-3h)	M.U., 936-40
116.	Muhammad Ibrahim, Asad Khan	5000/5000	M.U., II 476-77
117.	Ibrahim Khan S/o Ali Mardan Khan	5000/5000	M.U., I 310-21
118.	Mir Khalil, Khan-i-Zaman Muftakhar Khan.	5000/4000	M.U., I 295-301
119.	Mirza Muhamad Mashadi, Asalat Khan	5000/4000	M.U., I 785-92

S.No.	Name	Mansab	Source
120.	Mukarram Khan Safui, Murad Khan	5000	M.U., I 222-25.
121	Zulfiqar Khan	7000/7000	M.U., II Part II, 1037

Abb:

T.A. stands for Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II, (Persian Text)
A.A. Stands fro Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I (Blockmann)
M.U. stands for Maasir-ul-Umara
T stands for Maasir-ul-Umara (Persian Text)
AN stands for Akbarnama
AL stands for Alamgirnama
Tazkira stands for Tazkira-i-Humayun wa Akbar

The above table is taken from Athar Ali's The Apparatus of the Empire, Awards of Ranks Officers and Titles to Mughal Nobility, P.S. Bedi's, The Mughal Nobility under Akbar and Athar Ali's The Mughal nobility under Aurangzeb and Bayazid Biyat, Tarikh-I (Tazkira-i) Humayun wa Akba

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